

LA TAILLE

LAST SUPPER
AND
CALVARY

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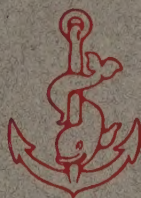
The Last Supper and Calvary

A REPLY TO CRITICS

BY

THE REV. MAURICE DE LA TAILLE, S.J.

ROME, ITALY



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SUPERIORUM PERMISSU

THE LAST SUPPER AND CALVARY

A REPLY TO CRITICS

THE circumstances that have called for the present paper are still fresh presumably in the memory of most readers of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW. In 1921 appeared a work called *Mysterium Fidei* on the Eucharistic mystery. The welcome extended to it in the press has been, I am afraid, too generous; indeed so much so, that it would make it very awkward for the author, were he to quote the appreciations of his learned brethren, the theologians of nearly every country in the Old and New World. But Divine Providence, always careful to place by the side of our ills their remedy, lest perhaps the greatness of the sympathy shown me should exalt me, has seen to it that I was not left without the sting of vehement opposition on the part of two distinguished members of a well known London community, St. Dominic's Priory, Haverstock Hill. One of them, the first in point of time and possibly of dignity, the Rev. Vincent McNabb, O. P., has published his objections in an English magazine called *Blackfriars* (Sept. 1923, pp. 1086 ff.). The other, the Rev. Alfred Swaby, O. P., with a view to supplementing what had been left undone by his senior, has written a special article for the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW¹

¹ In all future references the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW will be represented by *E. R.*, and *Blackfriars* by *B.*, while *M. F.* stands for *Mysterium Fidei*.

It is a great pleasure for me to place here on record the debt of gratitude which I owe to several contributors to the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW; in the first place to Bishop MacDonald, who introduced the work before the American

(Nov. 1923, pp. 460 ff.). Both gave to their papers the same ominous title, "A New Theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice". The division of labor between the two has been the following: Fr. McNabb assumed the Scholastic part of the task, leaving to his junior the discussion of the Patristic side of the subject. The oneness not only of aim, but of doctrinal inspiration and literary methods, is self-evident to any reader of both; but it is still more emphasized by the manner in which Fr. Swaby introduces the subject before the readers of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, formally linking his own article with that of Fr. McNabb, "which calls," he says, "for special comment":² the comment being first in the shape of unqualified adhesion, and secondly of further development. This is my excuse for uniting the two writers in what purposes to be an answer³ to their adverse criticism. If in replying to their strictures, and what is more delicate, to their censures, I use the freedom of speech which is customary in the world of letters, still I hope I shall never be found to forget what is due to them, either as priests of Holy Mother Church, or as members of an Order for which I always have, from my early youth, entertained the greatest respect and admiration, still increased in later life by a thirty years' intimacy with that great brother of theirs, our common master, St. Thomas of Aquin.⁴

public, and lately again wrote in defence of it; to the Rev. F. J. Connell, C.S.S.R., who stepped in more than once with some kindly remarks; and last, but not least, to the correspondent who signs himself "Episcopus", and is, I believe, something more even than a Bishop.

² *E. R.*, 460.

³ A mere answer, I say, to adverse criticism, and not a demonstration of my own views: for which I beg to refer the reader to *Mysterium Fidei*.

⁴ I sincerely trust that no one will see in this discussion a case of S.J. versus O.P., or vice versa. It is true that most of my S.J. brethren have expressed general agreement with me, in the *Civiltà Cattolica* (Mattiussi), *Gregorianum* (Hanssens), *Theologische Revue* (Kramp), *Pastor Bonus* (Springer), *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (d'Alès), *Etudes* (Lebreton) etc. But others who are not S.J. have done the same, like Fr. Beauduin, O.S.B. (Sant Anselmo), in the *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales*, Fr. de Vathaire, O.S.B., in the *Vie Spirituelle*, Professor Gagnon (Université Laval) in *Le Canada Français*, Dr. Bird (Oscott) in *Adoremus*, etc. Besides, none of those had warmer words of sympathetic appreciation than the Rev. R. M. Martin, O.P., in the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, and the Rev. J. M. Ramirez, O.P., in *La Ciencia Thomista*, not to mention "the Dominican representative at the recent Eucharistic Summer School at Cambridge", as the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (January, 1923, p. 39) calls Fr. Reeves, O.P., whose name brings back to my mind such pleasant memories.

By way of a preface to the clash of arguments, it may be advisable to sum up in a few words, necessarily inadequate, the doctrine which is at stake.⁵

I hold that Christ our Lord, on the night of the Last Supper, by consecrating the bread into His body delivered up to death for us, and the wine into His blood shed for many unto remission of sins, visibly, ritually, liturgically offered up to God His death and passion, whereby He was to be immolated at the hands of the Jews, a victim for the ransom of the world. Thus, in that sacred mystery of our faith which is the redemption of mankind by the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Saviour, I distinguish a twofold immolation.⁶ One perfectly real,⁷ even bloody; another, previous to that, in the Supper, not real, but representative, symbolical, sacramental, mystical (all these words in the present case express but one thought), not bloody, but unbloody. I hold that the unbloody immolation, which represented the bloody one to come, was the act by which Christ pledged Himself to death in the sight of His Father and of men:⁸ thus making over to God the Lamb to be slain, and by the very fact offering, in the ritual

⁵ A more complete sketch, still however inadequate, may be found in the lectures which I contributed to the Cambridge Catholic Summer School of 1922, published since by Messrs. Heffer & Co., Cambridge, under the editorship of Fr. Lattey, in *Catholic Faith in the Holy Eucharist*.

⁶ *Immolation* is throughout this paper taken in its strictly technical sense, as distinct from *oblation*: both *oblation* and *immolation* being constituent parts of the sacrifice, which therefore is inadequately distinct from either (*M. F.*, 11 ff.).

⁷ A *real* immolation (as distinct from a merely symbolic immolation) is here taken to mean one that is inherent in the subject, affecting it therefore intrinsically, and not only dressing it, so to say, in the garb of a slaughtered victim while leaving it perfectly unaltered and unaffected in its own substance and faculties.

⁸ For the sake of clarity, I may be permitted perhaps to quote the following words from *Catholic Faith in the Holy Eucharist* (2nd ed., p. 115): "Christ in the Supper offered Himself up to death. *This is My Body, He says, which is delivered up for you*, delivered unto Death (as even our modern rationalist commentators point out). *This is My Blood, which is shed for you, in atonement for your sins*. My Blood which flows for you: is not that death? Death put indeed before us in a symbol, by means of that sacramental parting of the blood from the body; but death at the same time already pledged to God for all its worth, as well as all its awful reality, by the expressive language of that sacred symbol. The price of our sins shall be paid down on Calvary; but here the liability is incurred by our Redeemer, and subscribed in His very blood. The flesh of the Lamb is here consigned into God's hands, for as much as it is assigned as our ransom. Christ is bound for His Passion, from which it is henceforth impossible for Him to step back without taking from God what He has given to God, and thus violating that principle of justice according to which every one is bound to render unto God the things that are God's."

sense of the word, not internally only, but outwardly, not by a mere purpose or promise to give, but by the actual giving and delivering up of the gift, not in mere figure, but most really and formally,⁹ the Victim that was henceforth sacred to God, and as such due to its ultimate fate. I consider then that Christ offered as High Priest according to the order and likeness of Melchisedech, and yet in that very same capacity offered nothing but the sacrifice of redemption, the sacrifice of His passion and death: but He offered it in the Eucharist of the Supper night. I do not therefore admit that there were two distinct and complete sacrifices offered by Christ: one in the Cenacle, the other on Calvary. There was a sacrifice at the Last Supper, but it was the sacrifice of redemption; and there was a sacrifice on the Cross, but it was the self-same sacrifice, continued and completed. The Supper and the Cross made up one complete sacrifice, properly so called, not invisible but visible, not metaphorical like the death of martyrs either under the Old or New Covenant, but in the strictest sense of the word, even as the sacrifices of the Law, which it came to abolish. We have then first a Priest and His sacerdotal action, a liturgy, a sacred rite; we have at the same time a Victim, offered by the Priest in that liturgical rite which He performs; and next we have the slaying of the Victim, the true and real immolation, which is the work not of the Priest, but of the executioners: although it is freely accepted and gone through by that Victim, who happens to be the Priest, never ceasing for a moment to ratify and carry out in a visible and tangible

⁹ I find that certain people, if they hear anybody say that there is no real immolation in the Mass, or that there was none in the Supper, take it to mean that there is in both cases a lack of real oblation: as if a merely symbolic immolation could not be a real oblation! The *oblation* of a victim either to be immolated for good, or as already immolated beforehand, however real it may be as an *oblation*, need not be a real immolation, nor even an immolation at all. The oblation is the handing over to God, the essential act of the priest, both in sacrifices that imply an immolation and in those that do not. But even in the first case there is no reason why it should necessarily consist in an immolation whether real or mystical. In fact, in most of the bloody sacrifices of the Hebrews or other Semites the oblation used to follow upon the immolation once performed, while it assumed the shape of a pouring of the blood on the altar. Christ chose to perform His offering in the shape of a mystic immolation. He might have done otherwise, if He wished. But one thing is certain, that He could not do it in the shape of a real immolation. It did not behove Christ to victimize or slay with His own hands (nor to reduce to a worse state even than death) the Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world. That was work for deicides. How the rite chosen by Christ embodied also a pouring of the blood on the altar, will be subsequently explained.

manner the obligation which He has incurred by His solemn oblation, thus subscribing to that sacramental donation of His own self and of His own life by every drop of His own blood unto death. After which God takes unto Himself the gift, removing it from its former earthly sphere to the realm of heavenly light and bliss, of that glory which transfers it into the proper condition and state of a thing divine, of a thing assumed by God, owned by Him and resting in His hand as the first fruits of creation, and in His bosom as a Lamb, dear for His own sake and endeared by His cruel passion. For our Melchisedech has entered the heavens with His first fruits changed into the flesh and blood of the Lamb, but of the Lamb glorified, of the Lamb that was slain and liveth, of the Lamb once dedicated to God and accepted by God for ever, and for ever more remaining what His sacrifice has made Him, the *Lamb of God*. Thus were the mysteries of the unleavened bread, of the paschal lamb, and of the sheaf of first fruits to be brought before Jehovah "the next day after the sabbath" (Lev. 23:11), blended into one in that one sacrifice of the Lord, which, as we are told by the earliest Fathers, ran from the Supper night and its Eucharistic feast to the morrow that dawned on the empty sepulchre.

So much, as regards the sacrifice of our Lord. Now, to turn to the sacrifice of the Church, Holy Mass, what is to be said? We say that Christ, after He had performed His work as a Priest, said to His disciples: *Do ye this in memory of me*. What He did, we do; we do as a memorial what He did as a prefiguration of His own passion. Our sacrifice presupposes then the death of the Lord as a thing of the past. We offer the death and passion too; that is, the Victim of the passion and death, even as He did; but with a difference: He offered it to be immolated; we offer it as immolated of old. We offer the eternal Victim of the Cross, once made and for ever enduring: "*Hostia illa perpetua est*," as St. Thomas says (4 *Sent.* 12, in lit.). We offer it by the same rite that Christ used before us, by the rite of consecration, which in our hands as in His constitutes a mystical (=sacramental=symbolic=representative) immolation,¹⁰ wherein lies the real and actual,

¹⁰ It is one thing to admit, as I do, a mystic immolation, and another thing to hold what often goes by the name of "the *theory* of the mystic immola-

the visible, audible, tangible oblation of what is represented, namely of the immolation of Calvary. And thus is verified the definition given by Blessed Peter Canisius in that Catechism of his which was the bulwark of the Faith in all countries that defended themselves successfully against heresy: "The sacrifice of the Mass rightly understood is both a representation, at once holy and living, and an offering, unbloody yet actual — of what? — of the passion of the Lord and of the bloody sacrifice which was offered for us on the Cross". The Mass is a sacrifice and a true sacrifice, in so far as, by means of a symbolic immolation, it is a true and actual oblation of a true Victim, although it contains no real immolation of Christ actually performed by us, but only a symbolic one, coupled with that state of Victim, perennial and celestial, due to the one real and bloody immolation undergone by Christ in days gone by. The Mass is a sacrifice, because it is our oblation of the Victim once immolated, even as the Supper was the oblation of the Victim to be immolated.

There is then a difference in point of time, as between an anticipation and a commemoration of the death. From this first difference a few more may be seen to follow.

Above all there is this one: in the course of Christ's own sacrifice, as above described, there was to be found a real immolation; in the course of ours there is none to take place.

tion": namely a theory according to which a mystical immolation is itself and by itself sufficient to constitute a sacrifice without any real state of a victim actually inherent in Christ's humanity. That theory I reject; that absolute sufficiency of the mystic immolation I do not hold. And this must be the reason why such clear-sighted and friendly critics as Fr. D'Arcy in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, or Fr. F. J. Connell in the *ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW*, say, in a somewhat elliptic phrase, that I admit of neither real nor mystic immolation. They surely mean that, as I exclude the necessity or even possibility of a real immolation, so too do I exclude the absolute self-sufficiency of a mystic one, while however I retain both a true sacrificial state of the Victim, once immolated by the Jews, and our mystic immolation of the same, renewed in each Mass. On our mystic immolation see *M. F.*, 36, 39, 111, 180, 195, 237 ff., 271, 303, 457, 547, etc.

No one has briefly expressed the theory which I here advocate in a more elegant manner than my eminent colleague, Fr. Lazzarini, Prefect of Studies and Professor of Dogma in the Gregorian University, when among the theses to be defended by his own pupils at the end of the scholastic year 1921-1922 he inserted this one: "Constitutivum sacrificii Missae essentialiter in sola consecratione utriusque speciei consistit; quatenus consecratio est mystica immolatio, sacrificii crucis repraesentativa et commemorativa, per quam denuo Deo praesentatur et offertur ipsa victima in cruce cruentur immolata, perseverans ut victima acceptata in aeternum."

Wherefore our sacrifice is called unbloody. Something then of Christ's sacrifice is not renewed in ours; and something is actually renewed. As Saint Thomas remarks in his very first utterance on the matter (*loc. cit.*), there are in the sacrifice of the Lord two things to be distinguished carefully: that which was done to Him by the Jews, and that which He did. The part of the Jews was the "slaying": which was a crime, and need not be repeated (God forbid!). His part was the "offering" or "sacrificing", which was performed in such guise that we might repeat it. And this is the sense, he concludes, in which we may be said to immolate Christ in our daily Mass.¹¹ Real repetition of the slaying is excluded. But apart from that, the rest remains, implying a symbolic renewal of the slaying and a real repetition of the offering (or sacrificing). Thus there is this part of the sacrifice of the Lord, which we reproduce as it was done by Him: the offering, in the shape of a mystic immolation; and that is our sacrificing: an entirely unbloody one.

Closely linked with this difference comes another. The Mass—that is, our Eucharistic consecration—is, as soon as effected, a complete sacrifice, because it has not to wait for its complement in the shape of an immolation to come. The Supper was not a sacrifice completed on the spot, because it was an offering in view of something not yet fulfilled. The fulfilment would make it complete.

Again, the oneness of the Supper with the Cross, in the nature of sacrifice, is a numerical oneness pure and simple; that is, these two did not make two sacrifices, distinct and complete, but only one. The Mass is distinct numerically from

¹¹ "*Et si Christus quotidie immoletur etc.* Sciendum est quod omnia illa verba quae important comparationem Judaeorum ad Christum et poenam Christi, non dicuntur quotidie fieri. Non enim dicimus quod Christus quotidie crucifigatur et occidatur; quia actus Judaeorum et poena Christi transiit. Illa autem quae important comparationem Christi ad Deum Patrem, dicuntur quotidie fieri: sicut offerre, sacrificare, et hujusmodi; eo quod hostia illa perpetua est, et hoc modo est semel oblata per Christum quod quotidie etiam per membra ipsius offerri possit" (4 *Sent.* 12, in lit.). This was written in explanation of Peter Lombard's answer to the question "si Christus quotidie immoletur, vel semel tantum immolatus sit"; which answer was: there has been only one intrinsic immolation of Christ, namely on the Cross (ibique immolatus est in semetipso); but sacramentally (in sacramento) is effected a daily memorial of that one immolation; which memorial is as such a sacramental immolation of daily recurrence. An answer which St. Thomas again fully endorsed in his last pronouncement on the subject (3 S. 83, 1).

Christ's own sacrifice, in a way; not indeed on the part of the thing offered, which is the same, not only materially but even formally, that is not only the same Christ or the same body, but in the same state of a Victim, of a perfected Victim, into which His own sacrifice has brought His humanity as the gift passed into God's hands. Nor again is the Mass numerically distinct on the part of the High Priest, who now offers through us what He offered then once for all in His own person. But it is distinct numerically on the part of the officiating priest, who on behalf of the Church is actually offering here, whereas neither himself nor the Church had any share in the active offering of the Supper. In other words, on the part of the passive¹² sacrifice, there is absolute unity between the Mass and the Cross; on the part of the active sacrifice, there is the subordination of a participated ministry to the original, principal and sovereign ministration of the High Priest, ever operative through ours.

A last remark, before we meet our critics. Any one who holds that the Mass is an offering of the Passion, is bound logically to hold the same of the Supper: because the Mass is our doing of what Christ did. If we offer His Passion, He must have done the same (allowances being made as above for the difference between past and future). Again, and for the same reason, any one holding that the Supper was an offering of the Passion, must hold the same of the Mass. And thus it comes that all testimonies bearing directly on the Supper also bear indirectly on the Mass; and, vice versa, all testimonies emphasizing in the Mass an offering of the Passion enlighten us as to the Supper. So that if St. Thomas, for instance, teaches us that the Mass is an oblation of Christ bruised in His Passion, he must also be taken to imply that the Supper was an oblation of Christ to be bruised in His Passion.

¹² It is a pity that this distinction between active and passive sacrifice, which was always present to the mind of our forefathers, has been somewhat neglected in our days. Were it more familiar to modern students, it would save many misrepresentations of either ancient or contemporary thought. The *Salmanticenses* very wisely prefaced with that distinction the whole of their discussion of the essence of the Mass.

I.

Now let us turn our attention to Fr. McNabb. His disproof consists of six arguments, which will be examined here in the order in which they are given in his paper. They all concentrate on one point: namely, in *Mysterium Fidei* (pp. 101-102, coll. p. 30-31) the Last Supper and the Passion are described as the component parts of one sacrifice: the Supper, as a symbolic immolation, showing forth especially the liturgical essence of an oblation ("in symbolica immolatione coenae elucet potissimum oblationis liturgicae proprietas"), the Passion providing the real immolation ("reperitur immolationis realitas in passione mortis"); and both elements combining together after the manner of a form and a matter ("quarum [partium] una, oblatio scilicet se habet per modum formae determinantis; altera autem, scilicet immolatio, per modum materiae se habet, portans atque subjectans rationem formalem"). "Even as in the sacrament of the Eucharist the permanent species of bread and wine are determined to their sacramental essence of a sign and token of the presence of Christ by the transient form of consecration, and having therefrom received the formal *ratio*, are found to be what is called the *sacramentum tantum*: so too in the sacrifice of Christ the whole passion unto death is determined to its sacrificial essence by the Eucharistic oblation of Christ, wherefrom having received its formal *ratio* it is said to be and is in truth the sacrifice of redemption, going on uninterruptedly, till, death intervening, it is all completed." Those are the statements selected by Fr. McNabb as the point of his attack on "this new theory of the Eucharistic sacrifice" (B. 1086 and 1098).

The first argument is this: "Any statements which implicitly deny that the Last Supper is one and the same Sacrifice with the Sacrifice of Calvary are false. But Père de la Taille's statements implicitly deny that the Last Supper is one and the same Sacrifice with the Sacrifice of Calvary. Therefore Père de la Taille's statements are false" (B. 1093). This seems rather unexpected. If anything had attracted the notice of readers so far, it was the emphatic unity of these two elements, the Last Supper and the Passion, implied in the incriminated statements: the Last Supper being not a different sacrifice from

the Passion, but one and the same with it; and the Passion again being not a different sacrifice from the Last Supper, but one and the same with it.¹³ Now here comes Fr. McNabb, who says: By no means is that necessary unity preserved in the "new theory"; it cannot be preserved unless you hold with me that Christ personally offered two sacrifices: a bloody one and an unbloody one; each one "a complete Sacrifice" (B. 1093); each one "a true and complete Sacrifice" (B. 1096); each one "a true, proper and complete Sacrifice" (B. 1099); so that of itself and by itself "the Last Supper was . . . a perfect Sacrifice with all that was necessary to a Sacrifice" (B. 1092). Thus, and thus only can you maintain that the Last Supper is the same sacrifice with the Passion. Such is the objection of Fr. McNabb. Many a man on reading it must have rubbed his eyes; yet there it is; and there perhaps we may leave it, without fear of *making void the Cross of Christ*, as Fr. McNabb in the conclusion of his argument assures us that we do. "Nothing short," he says, "of an *evacuatio crucis*". . . How he proves his point may be seen below in a footnote.¹⁴

¹³ Leaving out even the above mentioned notice in this REVIEW, from the pen of Bishop MacDonald, where it was said: "He correlates the Last Supper and Calvary, showing them to be numerically one and the same sacrifice", I may perhaps be permitted to quote from the *American Catholic Quarterly* (April, 1922, p. 261) the following sentence: The book "proves to us beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Last Supper and Calvary are one and the same sacrifice". Long before, such an eminent scholar as Fr. Lebreton, the author of *Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité*, had remarked (*Etudes*, 20 Oct. 1921, p. 188): "Cette unité du sacrifice rédempteur, offert à la cène, consommé sur la croix, est la clef de voûte de tout l'édifice dont nous retraçons ici le plan."

¹⁴ "If X— and Y— are related to each other as matter and form to constitute XY, then certain things must be said which seem fatal to Père de la Taille's statements. We can assuredly say 'X— and Y— constitute one and the same' (XY). And if we understand that we were speaking of X—Y we might say 'X and (meaning plus) Y are one and the same' (meaning XY).

"But we cannot say:

X— is one and the same as Y—
Y— is one and the same as X—
X— is one and the same as XY
Y— is one and the same as XY.

"For example, as the *body* and *soul* constitute the man and are essential parts of the man, we can say 'Body and soul constitute the man'. Or, if understood with the forementioned conditions, 'Body and soul are one and the same' (man).

"But we cannot say:

The Body is the Soul
The Soul is the Body
The Body is the Man
The Soul is the man. (Cf. *Summa*, Ia, Qu. 75, Art. 4.)

The next argument rests on a comparison with the Mass. If the oneness of the Last Supper and the Cross is that of matter and form, how will the sacrifice of the Mass be one

"If, therefore, the Last Supper is the essential formal part, and the Passion and Death are the essential material part of the Sacrifice, then we cannot say:

"The Last Supper is one and the same Sacrifice as the Sacrifice of Calvary"; nor 'The Passion and Death are one and the same Sacrifice as the Sacrifice of Calvary' (because the Passion and Death are not the whole but merely the material part).

"These conclusions, which follow necessarily from the statements of Père de la Taille, are nothing short of an *evacuatio crucis*. They are a denial of the mind of the Church on the redemptive Sacrifice of Calvary". (B. 1094-1095.)

The *evacuatio crucis* is apparently an allusion to 1 Cor. 1:17, *ut non evacuatur crux Christi*.—Has it never occurred to Fr. McNabb that the transference of the notions of matter and form from physical substances (say body and soul) to things so widely divergent from them as are sacraments or sacrifices, means a mere comparison which need not be carried to the point of absolute identity? Thus, for instance, in physical substances it would be mere nonsense to speak of a permanent matter with a transient form. It takes neither X nor Y to understand that a natural compound of substantial elements is not permanent as such, unless both terms are permanent; and yet St. Thomas, and likewise the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, speak of the words of consecration and the species as being the intrinsically constituent elements, form and matter, of the outward sign, the sacrament of the Eucharist (M. P. 504). Again, as Fr. McNabb has perceived, it would never do, in a composite substance of the physical order, to say that one element is the whole, for instance that the body is the man; but in accidental compounds, even of the natural order, that is quite permissible, as St. Thomas (*Quodlib.* 2, art. 3, ad 1m) observes of *Petrus albus*, who is made up of *Petrus* (as a matter) and *albedo* (as a form), and yet *Petrus* is *Petrus albus*. It is, moreover, permissible and necessary in composite substances of the metaphysical order, say *animal rationale*: which is made up of *animal* (= matter) and *rationale* (= form), and yet it is quite true to say that this *animal* is a *reasonable animal*; and even, that this *reasonable* being is this *animal* being, and that the one is the same *reasonable animal* as the other. Likewise do we say that the *sacramental species* are the (outward) *sacrament*, although the (outward) *sacrament* is made up of *sacramental species*, as matter, and of words, as form; and the same matrimonial contract is by identity form and matter, so that the form is there identical with the matter, and surely one sacrament with it. So, too, we may safely say, if we like, that the Eucharistic Supper was after the manner of a form, and the Passion was after the manner of a matter; and that the one was the same sacrifice with the other; and the world will not collapse, nor the Cross be made void.

May I suggest, in fine, that certain methods of reasoning had better be left to those dark ages of a decadent Scholasticism, when a Nicolaus de Ultricuria could spend his time, and other people's time as well, in showing them that God and His creature were nothing; because they are not one, and being not one they are not something: since one and something are convertible; and being not something, they are nothing. Q. E. D. Wherefore he was sentenced by the Papal Curia of Avignon to make a public recantation; which he did on 25 November, 1347, a victim (we are told) to the allurements of "*anglicanarum subtilitatum*" (see Denifle, O.P., *Cartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, tom. 1, pp. 505 ff. and 576-590). There was a good deal of wisdom in the warning addressed to him by the University of Paris seven years sooner: "*Disputationes dialecticae et doctrinales quae ad inquisitionem veritatis intendunt, modicam habent de nominibus sollicitudinem*" (op. cit., p. 506).

sacrifice with the sacrifice of Calvary, as it certainly must be? Perhaps as a formal part of it? But that is impossible: one matter cannot have two forms. Therefore, otherwise? But then why is not the Supper too one with the Cross, otherwise?¹⁵ —I suppose the answer will appear clear enough to those who have read the introductory note to this paper. The oneness of the Supper with the Cross is a numerical one. Not so the oneness of the sacrifice of the Mass with the sacrifice of the Cross, speaking of course of the *active*¹⁶ sacrifice. On the part of the sacrificial action, there is only between Holy Mass and the sacrifice of redemption a unity of subordination, as between a ministerial exercise and the full activity and efficacy of the one and eternal priesthood. Failing numerical unity, there is assuredly no room for a combination of matter and form, such as may fittingly be noted in Christ's own sacrifice.

Another simile from the Mass gives rise to the third argument. The sacrifice of the Mass is perfected by consecration alone. Therefore too in the Last Supper the same must have held good.¹⁷ Again I think the answer must be clear from what has gone before. The double consecration would have been in the Last Supper, as it is in the Mass, a complete sacrifice in itself, if, before the slaying, it could have been taken

¹⁵ "From the words of the Catechism of the Council of Trent it is clear that Holy Mass is a Sacrifice, and one and the same Sacrifice with the Sacrifice of Calvary.

"But if the Last Supper is *one* Sacrifice with Calvary merely because it is the *formal* part, then on what grounds must we say that Holy Mass is one and the same Sacrifice with Calvary? If we say, because it is a formal part of Calvary, then an essential unity can have two substantial forms. Moreover, if the formal and ritual *oblation* of the Sacrifice is necessary for the Sacrifice, then this oblation need not precede but can follow the Immolation.

"If, however, the Mass is one and the same Sacrifice, not because it is the formal essential part—then why must the Last Supper be *one* only because it is the formal part?" (B. 1095).

¹⁶ As to the *passive* Sacrifice, there is (as explained above) absolute numerical identity between the Cross and the Mass, as also between the Supper and the Cross. In this respect, there is no room in either case for a combination of matter and form. Matter and form were, in the case of Christ's personal sacrifice, introduced only as component parts of the active element.

¹⁷ "If according to Père de la Taille (and St. Thomas) the Sacrifice is perfected [in Holy Mass] by the Consecration alone, the Last Supper is a true and perfect Sacrifice. Everything necessary for the Sacrifice is present—Oblation, and the separate Consecrations of the real Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. It is quite evident that the Last Supper was a Sacrifice, no more and no less than Holy Mass. Therefore unless we are to say that Holy Mass is only an essential part of a Sacrifice, we must also say that the Last Supper was a true and complete Sacrifice" (B. 1096).

to be the oblation of a victim already slain: which is impossible. Therefore it was only an oblation of the Victim to be slain. Pending the slaying, the Victim was not yet in the full state and condition of a victim. Consequently the sacrifice was not fulfilled, was not completed, till something more had happened, through which the Lamb was made an actual Lamb of sacrifice, a truly immolated Victim; not only such by name or in outward appearance merely, but by deed and in reality; one not only placed before the Lord as awaiting death, but tasting death to redeem His pledge; one not only due to the Cross, but lying on it. Then the sacrifice was completed, because then the sacred humanity of Christ was made into what the sacramental rite in the Supper had prefigured, and what the prefiguration had tendered unto God for His acceptance: the price of redemption and the ransom of the world. Now in the Mass the situation is altogether different, from the mere fact that the order of succession between the Passion and the Eucharist has been inverted, and what was then a prefiguration is now a commemoration. Christ has not to be turned into a Victim any more. He is that, in Himself, for ever, from the day that God's sanction fell upon His offering, and the heavenly fire consumed the Victim, absorbing all its mortality, passibility and corruptibility, and the Power from on high seized and appropriated to God what had been tendered to God, sealing it, as it were, with the seal of divine glory, as God's own acquisition, *hostiam adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem*, in the sight of heaven and earth. Being what He is,¹⁸ Christ need but be offered by us, as He was by Himself: and at once our sacrifice is complete, because it is then the sacrificial oblation of a Victim once victimized and thenceforth hallowed in God's own sanctuary, of a Victim truly such, ready made for us: "oblatio occisi" (to use Albert the Great's phrase, *M.F.* 247); an oblation enshrined, even as was His own, in the sacramental immolation, in the mystic rite of the twofold consecration.

If Fr. McNabb is not satisfied, if he wants to abolish the difference in point of time between the Supper and the Mass, in their regard to the Cross, I cannot follow him. *Before* and

¹⁸ "Hostia illa perpetua est", St. Thom., 4 *Sent.* 12; "Hostia ejus . . . durat in aeternum", St. Thom., in *Hebr.* lect. 1; cf. *M.F.* 46, 74, 267.

after make an enormous difference in the Victim of the Cross; a difference which is bound to react on the prospective and the retrospective offering: both of which must necessarily differ, as differs the fact of having been killed from the condition of one who has still to be killed.

Nor is the Mass therefore more perfect than the Supper. What the Supper still lacked, the Mass presupposes. The work of the Cross completes both sacrifices. The Mass would not be at once a complete sacrifice, if the Cross had not gone before; no more than the Supper could attain its sacrificial fulfilment without the Cross intervening. The Cross is the centre. Set up on the ridge of the sacred Mount, it divides from one another the two sides of the Eucharistic horizon: the side of Christ, looking forward to it, and the side of the Church, looking back upon it; and there it reunites in a marvelous unity the gifts of our subordinate ministry with the one offering of our one High Priest according to the order of Melchisedech. If there is but one bread and one chalice, the reason is because there is one flesh that was torn, and one blood of the covenant that cleansed the earth from its iniquities. A prerequisite, or a sequel, in either way the Cross is a complement to both Mass and Supper. No superiority then, in this regard, of the Mass over the Supper. But from another point of view, the superiority is infinite of the Supper over the Mass, as of the main force over the particular agencies, and of the fount over the rivulets. If Christ offered Himself to be immolated, which He alone could do, He is responsible for all the excellence that there may be in our offering Him as immolated: which is only an accession to what He did, and a sharing in the giving of what He gave. To conclude, there is nothing derogatory to the Last Supper in the fact that it was not in itself alone a complete sacrifice, no more than it is derogatory to the Mass that it should be called a complete sacrifice only owing to the Cross—and the Supper.

Now let us turn to the fourth objection. If the ritual oblation in the Supper was an unbloody immolation, why was not the bloody immolation of Calvary, of itself and by itself, a ritual oblation? Such is Fr. McNabb's query.¹⁹ The answer

¹⁹ "To any one who reads the accounts of the Last Supper . . . it will be evident that the only external oblation are the words of Consecration. But

is plain. In the first place, the oblation in the Supper was not a *real* immolation, but a merely representative one. If it had been a real immolation, then perhaps the conclusion might be urged against us, *ad hominem*, that the real immolation on the Cross was no less fit to afford of itself and by itself a ritual oblation. But the supposition being set aside, the conclusion must be also rejected. Nay more, it is not only unproven, but it is also untenable. The immolation of Calvary could not in any case suffice for a ritual oblation, precisely because it was the *real* immolation of one who could not be immolated *really* but by *deicides*. Therefore it could not be, what the oblation has to be, the work of the Priest. That was felt by theologians long ago, indeed from the very earliest centuries; and theologians of modern times have labored the point to a degree, making it perfectly clear that we cannot look up to the slaying alone for the oblation of our High Priest. St. Thomas is in this respect, as in so many others, a link between antiquity and later generations. In his words, already quoted, what Christ did in the way of actual oblation, we do; what others did to Him, we do not. They immolated Him; therefore that bloody immolation of theirs was not Christ's active oblation: since we do not renew it, and yet we do what He did as an offerer. It is true that a real immolation may at times be an oblation: but only on certain conditions, one of which is that it should be performed by the Priest, by the Sacrificer. by the Offerer. Nor is such a case a more normal or more

these Consecration words whereby the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are the immolation! From this most certain fact flow certain conclusions fatal to Père de la Taille's thesis. If it is accepted that this Consecration, or unbloody Immolation, is the ritual Offering (Oblatio), then à [sic] *fortiori* the bloody Immolation of Calvary is the ritual Offering or Oblation. But Père de la Taille denies that the Immolation of Calvary is the Oblation." (B. 1096-1097.) I do not wish to raise unnecessary difficulties; only for the sake of clarity do I make here the following remark, on which the solution of the above difficulty does in no way depend. It is not perfectly correct to say that "the only external Oblation are the words of Consecration". The external oblation was the *rite* of consecration; which is made up of words and appearances. The oblation was a pragmatic one: an enacted donation, not a merely spoken one (M. F., 7, 11, 31, 36, 39, 109, 155, 210, etc.).

This fourth argument recurs again later as the concluding sentence of the article: "The double Consecration is an unbloody representation of the bloody Immolation, and is the essential Immolation of the Sacrifice of the Mass. If, then, the representative Sacrifice has identity of Oblation and Immolation, why must the real, actual and bloody Sacrifice demand a separate Oblation, which makes both the Last Supper and the Passion and death of our Lord essentially incomplete as a Sacrifice (*in genere sacrificii*)?" (B. 1100.)

ordinary one: we see just the opposite in the sacrifices of the Law, where the Levites, who were no priests, were empowered to do the slaying, while to the priests alone fell the offering, in the shape of a pouring of blood on the altar, as seat of the Godhead. And thus did Christ, in the sacred banquet, while shedding His blood sacramentally, also sacramentally bathe in blood His body, the seat of the Divinity, the one true altar of the one sacrifice. "His spiritual [=sacramental] blood Christ [in the Supper room] poured on the Altar, that is on His body", and thus "Christ Himself [in the Supper room], for our own sanctification, did by the sprinkling of His own blood offer His Passion for us".²⁰ Yes, the sacramental immolation might be an oblation; the bloody immolation, being the work not of Christ, but of His enemies, could not.

But then, Fr. McNabb goes on to say, if the oblation in the Supper is an immolation, and the immolation on Calvary is no oblation, then the sacrifice of the Supper is more perfect than the sacrifice of the Cross. "If, however, it is said that there is a real ritual Oblation (wherever it is) and Consecration or Immolation in the Last Supper, but that there is no real ritual Oblation on the Cross, then the Sacrifice of the Last Supper is more perfect than the Sacrifice of the Cross" (*B.* 1097).²¹ Of course, a ready answer is: How could one sacrifice be more perfect than the other, if there are not two sacrifices but only one? But, secondly, it should be noted that Fr. McNabb, to lend color to the objection, credits the Supper with "a real immolation", whereas I, with St. Thomas, hold that there was just "a representative image" of an immolation, a likeness called by the name of its pattern ("Celebratio autem hujus sacramenti, sicut supra dictum est, *imago* quaedam est repræsentativa passionis Christi, quæ est *vera* ejus immolatio; et ideo celebratio hujus sacramenti *dicitur* Christi immolatio". 3 S. 83, 1): a doctrine which had been before St. Thomas that of all medieval writers. Now with that little artifice of his, Fr. McNabb manages to make me set up against the Cross, reduced to the sole element of immolation, the Supper combining two elements, real oblation and real immolation: the result being that the Supper appears bigger than the Cross. For-

²⁰ Hesychius, quoted in *M. F.* 155; cf. 46.

²¹ These words follow immediately on those quoted just above.

tunately there is nothing of the kind: it is just the reverse, for many reasons (M. F. 104 ff.), one of which is that not only does the real immolation belong to the Passion exclusively, but that the real oblation does from the Supper extend to the whole of the Passion, as will be seen hereafter: so that the balance of the account, if I may say so, is reversed, and the Cross carries with it the greater weight. No, "the Sacrifice of the Last Supper is" *not* "more perfect than the Sacrifice of the Cross".

Having thus caught the "New Theory" on the horns of his dilemma, Fr. McNabb ends the discussion with the following remark: "These two²² conclusions are so evidently false that we must affix the note of false to their premises" (B. 1097)²³ The *evacuatio crucis* was strong enough. The "note of false" sounds like a direct censure. Of this more anon.

The fifth argument runs as follows. The Last Supper and the Mass are the same thing in substance. If then the Last Supper lacks unity of sacrifice with the Cross, so will the Mass lack it too. But it has been proved that the Last Supper in the "New Theory" does suffer from that baneful deficiency. So then the same should be said of the Mass itself.²⁴ I think that, after what has gone before, this argument may be dismissed.

More interesting is the appendix to it, concerning my enunciation of St. Paschasius's doctrine in the following words: "Immolatio igitur semel acta realiter in passione, quotidie peragitur figuraliter in sacramento" (M. F. 309). "This," Fr. McNabb observes, "seems to deny that in Holy Mass there is a real, as distinct from a figurative, immolation." In fact, it not only seems to deny, but verily does deny that there is any real immolation in the Mass, as distinct from a figurative,²⁵

²² Which are the *two* conclusions here alleged to be false? I am not quite clear on the point; but I suppose it is immaterial.

²³ These words follow immediately on those last quoted.

²⁴ "Whatever the Last Supper is, the Holy Mass is; because these two differ not substantially but modally. Now if the Last Supper is but an essential constituent of the Calvary Sacrifice, and not one and the same Sacrifice with the Calvary Sacrifice, the Holy Mass is not one and the same Sacrifice with the Calvary Sacrifice. This may account for Père de la Taille's words in speaking of the opinion of Paschasius Radbertus: 'Immolatio igitur', etc." (B. 1097).

²⁵ There is only this difference between St. Paschasius Radbertus and myself: namely that he is fond of the word *figura*, in dealing with the symbolic element of the Mass; and therefore in summing up his view I chose purposely

or representative, or symbolic immolation. Thereupon Fr. McNabb continues: "This would be to deny that the Holy Mass was *both a commemoratio* of the Sacrifice of Calvary and also one and the same Sacrifice. If there is only a figurative and not also a real immolation, the Mass is not the real Sacrifice of Calvary, but the *nuda commemoratio* condemned by the Council of Trent". (B. 1097-1098).—Here we are, at last! condemned by the Council of Trent: nothing less. Directly and immediately condemned, without even the space of a syllogism between the Tridentine anathema and my own position. Which, saving the word, is a charge of heresy. This, I must confess, has been my greatest surprise in Fr. McNabb's paper. Is he not aware that the denial of a "real, as distinct from figurative, immolation" is rampant in the schools. Has he not heard of Vasquez, not even of Billot, to name only two princes of the first rank in the realm of theology? Must he be told that the theory of a real (as distinct from a figurative) immolation to be performed in the Mass by the priest, is of recent introduction in the theological field? that even now countless theologians keep aloof from it, not only followers of either Vasquez or Billot, but also quite a number of others, who hold with Lessius that a real immolation would be entailed by the symbolic immolation, if there was nothing to prevent it; which being not the case, it does not follow, and therefore is not real? If I am "condemned by the Council of

the word *figuraliter* (while explaining its meaning); whereas I for my own sake prefer as a rule other words like *representative*, *symbolice*, *sacramentaliter*, *mystice*, the reason being this: *figura* is now mostly used of such signs as preceded the reality by many centuries (Old Testament signs in reference to New Testament realities); and consequently of signs empty of what they signified. Which two connotations however are not necessary at all; and therefore *figura*, although it may happen, if not explained by its context, to mislead an inattentive reader, yet in itself is correct enough in so far as it means a sign, and not necessarily an empty sign. In fact, in the Eucharistic celebration, although the sign, or "representative image of that passion which was Christ's true immolation" (St. Thomas), does not contain a real repetition of that true immolation of the Passion, yet it does (as I maintain) contain the true, permanent and eternal effect of that immolation, namely Christ's sacrificial state enduring forever. And therefore, on the whole, the other words (less associated with Old Testament figures) are better than *figura*. On the use of *figura* for sacrament by Tertullian, see *M. F.* 59. After Paschasius, for a similar use of the word *figura*, see Algerus (*M. F.* 310) and many others. As to the corresponding Greek word *ἀντίτυπον*, see *M. F.* 445. This said, I acknowledge that Fr. McNabb is not here (as far as I am aware) raising a question of words about *figuraliter*, but a question of doctrine about the exclusion of a real immolation, as opposed to a merely symbolic one.

Trent", what then of all these others? A curious thing is that over and above what they admit, in common with me, to be effected by the priest in the Mass, I besides lay stress on what they either exclude or leave out of sight: the reality of the eternal state of a Victim, inherent in Christ's sacred humanity by virtue of His own self-offering consummated on the Cross and of God's correlative acceptance manifested and carried out in the Resurrection and Ascension. I am more realist than they are; and yet I am singled out for special condemnation, as a bare-faced infringer of the decrees of Trent! I suggest that is a little too much; too much even of a success for Fr. McNabb, to have destroyed with one stroke, not only the insignificant object of his attack, but quite a host of modern theologians, besides the bulk, and I may say the unanimity of the pre-Tridentine Schoolmen, including of course St. Thomas, who speaks as the reader knows of our "representative image" of that "true immolation" of Christ, which was His Passion: words which are a cross to certain commentators of the present time, but which only echoed the language of Peter Lombard and other Sententiaries, into which had been cast and moulded the teaching of early medieval theology and patristic tradition; words again which as late as the first half of the sixteenth century raised so little difficulty that Cajetan did not even think fit to write a single line of comment on them: as if they merely stated a doctrine familiar to all, indisputable and undisputed. Would that it was undisputed also to-day; but at least let it be respected.

The sixth and last argument is in the author's own words the strongest. "Our last disproof of Père de la Taille's thesis we look upon as the strongest" (*B.* 1098). It is this. St. John, of all Evangelists the most deeply concerned with the sacrificial character of Redemption, does not mention the Last Supper. It is therefore highly improbable that the sacrifice of redemption derived any formal element from the Last Supper.²⁶ This objection is akin to the remark of Loisy, that the

²⁶ "If there is one Evangelist who seems concerned to bring out the fact that Jesus was a priest and that His death was the act of sacrificial redemption, it is St. John." [See John 1:29; 11:50; 18:4; 19:34.] "All those texts present us with an Evangelist who is deeply concerned to show that the Passion and Death of Jesus was the redemptive [sacrifice]. Yet St. John does not mention the Last Supper! If this last is the formal essential part of the sacrifice, then St. John, who is deeply concerned with the sacrifice, has deliberately left out its formal essential part." (*B.* 1098.)

fourth Gospel knows nothing of the institution of the Eucharist. A circumstance, which, if proved, would certainly be strange on the part of the disciple who reclined in the bosom of the Lord at the Supper of the Lord. The statement was recanted by Loisy himself, who in a later book wrote, not only of Mark and Matthew, but also of John: "There is in the Gospels an equivalent of the formal precept [of celebrating the Eucharist] that we find in Paul" (*M.F.* 193). And yet surely that precept was uttered only in the Eucharistic Supper. So that even an infidel may detect traces of Christ's Eucharistic feast where a lynx-eyed Catholic critic sees none. Indeed the fact is that there is in St. John a sixth chapter, where among other mysterious sayings of the Lord there is this one, in which the rest find their climax: *And the bread that I will give is My flesh for the life of the world.*²⁷ To this verse is devoted in my book a special dissertation (*Elucidatio VI*), with precisely this object in view, to show that here St. John did implicitly connect the celebration of the Supper with the Passion of the Lord, and vice versa. What a humiliation to my naïve *amour propre d'auteur*, when I see that Fr. McNabb does not even deign to make the slightest allusion to my view, let alone discuss it, before coming forward with his own sweeping pronouncement, that St. John "has deliberately left out" the Last Supper. Again I feel shy in quoting Loisy to Fr. McNabb, but as the children of darkness are apt to be wiser at times in their methods than the children of light, here is the testimony of one who cannot be suspected of having been prompted by any desire of harmonizing Scriptural evidence with the tenets of Christian dogma: "L'idée de la passion et celle de l'Eucharistie sont aussi étroitement associées dans le quatrième Evangile que dans Saint Paul et dans les relations synoptiques de la dernière Cène . . . et l'idée du Christ agneau de Dieu, vraie

²⁷ According to the usual reading. The other reading, equally probable, is: The bread that I will give for the life of the world is My flesh. The meaning is practically the same, as was noted in the sixteenth century by that scholarly exegete and apologist, Titelmannus, in his *Elucidatio Paraphrastica in Joannem* (Parisiis, 1545, fol. 27 b). Catholic exegetes (and others as well) are generally agreed that the *flesh* is, in either reading, understood to be given, and given in sacrifice unto God for the life of the world. As, however, in either reading, the word *give* is expressed only once, it follows that its meaning should be the same in regard to the bread and in regard to the flesh. Therefore, the bread is also given in sacrifice by Christ.

victime pascalle, vraie pâque du chrétien, est insinuée dans la date que l'évangéliste assigne à la multiplication des pains" (*M.F.* 79). Of course I might have quoted from St. Thomas's *Catena Aurea*. But seeing that his protection has not availed me above, I wonder whether it is any good bringing him again under the same condemnation with myself. However this is the little piece of Tradition inserted by St. Thomas in the *Catena Aurea*, on this very verse of St. John 6:52: "This bread the Lord gave when He delivered the mystery of His body and blood to His disciples, and when He offered Himself up to God the Father on the altar of the Cross" (*M. F.* 80). Apparently, in the mind of those less advanced exegetes of old, St. John had not "deliberately left out" the Last Supper, nor forgotten to connect it with the Passion.

These are the six arguments, framed as an all-sufficient disproof of the "New Theory": "The foregoing arguments seem sufficient to cast doubts upon the truth of this new theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice" (*B.* 1098).²⁸

Thereupon follows a series of six concluding remarks, of which one only constitutes some kind of a new argument: "So great are the straits into which Père de la Taille's theory has led its learned advocate, that it entangles him in what seem to be contradictions with himself. Thus he says, 'The Fathers indirectly suggest that the Sacrifice of the Passion was offered at the Last Supper, when, distinguishing the sanctification²⁹ (oblation) from the slaying (mactation), they attribute the latter to the deicide Jews, but reserve the former to Christ consecrating the bread and wine at the Last Supper' (p. 40). These words seem to contradict Père de la Taille's theory by lending support to what we have urged above, *viz.*, that the only trace of oblation in the inspired records of the Last Supper are the words of Consecration!" (*B.* 1100).—There might be a contradiction, if I had ever denied, or left it in the least fashion doubtful, that the words of consecration (coupled of course with the species, with which they form an integral sign, and implying that which is signified, the real presence

²⁸ These words follow immediately on those last quoted.

²⁹ Instead of the *sanctification* there should be here *the act of the sacrificator*. My Latin has *sacrificatio*.

of the body as delivered up for us, and of the blood as sacramentally shed for us) did in the Last Supper constitute the oblation: but where has that ever been, I will not say denied or questioned, but passed over by me? It forms the very basis of my doctrine; it is a most essential part of what I maintain. Moreover, it has not only been stated explicitly, but demonstrated of set purpose at the very outset of my treatment of the Last Supper (*M. F.* 35 ff.), recalled on every possible occasion,³⁰ resorted to as a disproof of all theories that would have us look for an oblation elsewhere.³¹ It pervades the whole book: and I am charged with contradiction and incoherence because in that little stray sentence of mine (on the allotment of the oblation and of the immolation to various agents according to the Fathers), there is just to be found a *confirmatur* for that very view which is my own throughout. The only excuse I can imagine for such a piece of *ignoratio elenchi*, as well as for the many others that have gone before, is that my critic, owing to the pressure of work, must have failed to accord adequate perusal to the book which he was impugning.

So far for Fr. McNabb's contribution to "the important discussions of recent date on the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice", as Fr. Swaby is pleased to call this production (*E. R.* 460). In the following section I propose to submit to critical examination Fr. Swaby's own addition to these discussions.

³⁰ *M. F.*, 101, 109, 195, 210, 229, 237, 299, 303, 335, 337, 377, 433, 437, 443, 452, 471, 472, etc.

³¹ *M. F.*, 426, 439, etc.

II.

THE scope of Fr. Swaby's paper is to discuss the patristic evidence advanced in *Mysterium Fidei* for the so-called "New Theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice".

"The theory," he says, "is that our Lord *made no sacerdotal oblation of Himself on Calvary; that the one (semel) oblation of Himself in view of the bloody immolation on the Cross was made, not in His Passion, but at the Last Supper only*" (E. R. 460). Again, that "Our Lord offered Himself *strictē ac sacerdotaliter* at His Last Supper, and not in His Passion, in *ara crucis*" (E. R. 461). More than one reader must have demurred on seeing this little simplified presentation of a doctrine which, whatever may be thought of it, can hardly have been propounded by its author in such artless form. Let us see how far the picture does justice to the original.

When you inquire whether Christ offered Himself on the Cross, two things may be meant, rather different from one another. You may be asking whether Christ did perform on the Cross the outward, visible, ritual, liturgical action, by virtue of which He was to assume in His sacrifice the character of a sacerdotal offerer. In other words, speaking precisely of that which in Christ's sacrifice should give rise to the essence of an oblation, you ask: Did that take place on the Cross? That is one sense of the question.

There may be another meaning, still very proper and formal. Whether that particular action did take place on the Cross or not, was there anyhow on the Cross the essence of an oblation, of a real, visible, sacerdotal oblation?

Now you may answer the first question in the negative, and the second in the affirmative. And if both questions, however different, are asked in the same words, you may beg leave to introduce a distinction, in order to avoid confusion.¹ There-

¹ Many are the examples of theological propositions that may be either affirmed or denied, according as they are understood in one sense or in another, both technical. A famous case is that of the sentence *Unus de Trinitate passus est*. If you mean to say that one of the Trinity suffered according to that very nature owing to which He is one of the Trinity, then the sentence must be denied; wherefore it was rejected by Popes Felix III and Hormisdas. But if you mean that He suffered according to that nature through which He, one of the Trinity, is a man, then it is perfectly orthodox, and was as such approved by Pope John II, by the second Council of Constantinople, and by

fore a responsible theologian, in a scholastic treatise aiming at scientific precision, will demur at saying purely and simply that "Christ made no sacerdotal oblation of Himself on Calvary", or that "Our Lord offered Himself *stricte et sacerdotaliter* at the Last Supper, and not in His passion, *in ara crucis*": words, not of mine, but of Fr. Swaby's own coining; not italicized by me, but by him.

In the first two dissertations of my work, which bear respectively on Sacrifice in general and on the Sacrifice of the Passion, while speaking of the act that would originate the form of oblation, I said it was to be found prior to the mactation on the Cross. In the first of the two, about Sacrifice in general, the oblation having been just defined as the "sensible, ritual, liturgical" action of the Priest Himself, and indeed "such as to express surrender, dedication, consecration" (M. F. II), whereas "immolation in its strictest acceptation means mactation or destruction of the victim," I proceed to note that writers do not always keep strictly to such precise acceptation, but very often use those two words promiscuously one for the other, or either for the sacrificial action (or ~~active~~ sacrifice). Which is all the more permissible because neither of the terms under consideration has its full sense without the concurrence of the other, and both, in correlation with each other, make up the sacrifice. Even so, I remark, "Christ is said to have immolated Himself for our salvation, although He did not slaughter Himself, but only offered Himself to be slaughtered; and again He is said to have offered Himself on the altar of the Cross, because there He was immolated, and therefore sacrificed, although He seems to have already beforehand offered Himself sacerdotally to His Passion" (p. 12). What is said there, is that the particular action above referred

the Council of the Lateran under Martin I. Nor are Biblical statements, as every one knows, nay not even Christ's own utterances, exempt from that law. When Christ says: *The Father is greater than I*, He utters a great truth; and yet St. Bernard will be rebuked by no one, when, speaking formally of Him whom the Father glorified and made to sit at His right-hand, he says in an unqualified manner: "*Nec inferiorem Patre, nec posteriorem suspexeris*"; and again: "*Ne quis dicat Filium minorem Patre*" (*In Cantica*, 76, 2 et 3, P. L. 103, 1151). We all know what he means; namely, that on the score of that nature which, as received from the Father by an eternal generation, makes Him to be Himself, Christ is equal to the Father; although not, of course, by reason of that other nature, to which He is indebted, not for being Himself, but for being man.

to, did take place before the crucifixion. But even while saying that it took place before, I am careful not to use such a phrase as: There was no oblation on the Cross; because, although there might be something of a safeguard in the foregoing precision, yet such a loose form of language would still be apt to mislead people, in letting them think that in no true and formal sense at all could Christ be said to have offered Himself on the Cross.

Again in the second dissertation, which is on the Passion, the characteristics of Christ's immolation having been discussed, I pass on to the oblation, defined again as "sensible, ritual and liturgical" (M. F. 29), as "the act by which Christ assumed toward His Passion the bearing of a Priest" (ibid), as "the rite of His liturgy" (ibid.), as "that which should give rise and prominence to the character of a sacerdotal oblation" (M. F. 31): and I conclude that such an action did not find place within the time extending from the agony in the Garden to the death on the Cross (ibid.).

This very answer necessarily raises a further question: was there however on the Cross the true essence of a visible and sacerdotal oblation? The transition from the first problem to the second appears in the ninth dissertation, where the conclusions of the first two, on Sacrifice and on the Passion, and of the six following ones on the Last Supper, are fitted together and worked up into a *corpus doctrinae*. There it is said, in the first place, that the particular action above referred to as meant to endow Christ's passion and death with the character of a sacerdotal oblation, was fulfilled at the Last Supper (M. F. 101-102). But even then I am very careful, extremely careful indeed, not to say, or imply, or suggest that there was no essence of an oblation elsewhere. The expressions I use are these: (1) at the Supper Christ offered "primarily" (*per prius*); (2) Christ in the Supper "had already offered ritually the Sacrifice of His Passion" (*jam in coena Christus ritualiter obtulit*); (3) "In the Supper was begun that sacrifice which was to be completed on the Cross. The reality of an immolation is indeed to be found in the passion unto death; but in the symbolic immolation of the Supper is chiefly conspicuous (*elucet potissimum*) the characteristic of a liturgical oblation." (4) The sacerdotal act of oblation was

predominant (*eminet*) in the Supper.—Nowhere is it said that Christ offered at the Supper *only*: which would or might be taken to mean that Christ was no longer after the Supper an actual offerer, continuing visibly His sacerdotal oblation.

But there is more. Not only do I not say that Christ offered at the Supper *only*, but I deny it emphatically. Not to mention even a little footnote² appended to the last quoted passage of mine, there is to be found a most distinct and formal assertion of the oblation on the Cross in the very same place in which I had just been noting the characteristic of the Supper. For now come these words, printed mostly in capitals: "The oblation begun in the Supper perseveres throughout the whole Passion. For this is necessarily a lasting oblation, which, once made, far from being revoked, is continually kept up (*alitur*) by free acts of the will, showing themselves forth outwardly through so many actions and words of the Lord until His death. Wherefore there is not a single moment when the Priest, the very same one who celebrated (*litavit*) at the Supper, is not seen to carry on and sanction and ratify His own celebration (*suam litationem*), not only internally, but also externally, by the very shedding of His blood" (M. F. 102-103). Christ goes on offering, not only inwardly but outwardly and visibly. But of course this confirmation of the active offering is dependent on its inception. These two make only one continuous process. There is no sacerdotal and sacrificial oblation (as distinct from a mere giving-up of one's life in a sacred cause), there is no sacrificial or sacerdotal oblation properly so-called on the Cross, except as an extension of what has gone before at the Supper. But as such, as a development of the liturgical rite of the Eucharist, it is decidedly to be found on the Cross. There it attains its crowning perfection, as a persevering confirmation on the part of the High Priest of His deed at the Supper. This is a peculiarity owing to the fact, a fact quite unique in its kind, that the Priest is at the same time the Victim. Wherefore, immediately following upon the passage just quoted, came this concluding sentence: "Thence you shall infer how truly it was

² "Noli inde deducere Christum non fuisse hostiam in cœna, aut non fuisse sacerdotem in cruce; sed, ut infra explicabitur, nunquam in Christi sacrificio vacavit oblatione immolatio" etc. (M. F. 102, note 1).

said by the Council of Trent, that Christ offered Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the Cross: *in ara crucis semetipsum cruenta obtulit Cujus quidem oblationis cruentae . . . etc.* Not that the Council ascribed to Christ an action of bloodshedding (for the bloodshedding was entirely the work of the Jews); nor that it asserts any liturgical rite of a bloody character to have been performed by Christ (which would be contrary to Scripture and all the Fathers and Doctors). But yet, even on the Cross, while Christ shows that He does of His own free will experience and taste death, He does also, by the very fact, to that solemn oblation of His, celebrated bloodlessly in the Supper, add, in the very blood of His Passion, something like a signature, something like a seal; He vests it in purple, and girds it with a crown" (M. F. 103). Thus Christ's offering was a bloody one, not only in so far as He offered Himself to a bloody immolation, but also for as much as by the shedding of His blood He was pursuing effectively the oblation which He had initiated in the unbloody rite of the Cenacle. Hence "the oblation on the Cross was none else but that of the Supper. It was one and the same; one in number, performed in the Supper ritually and pursued on the Cross morally; and the reason for it all is the identity between Priest and Victim: the Victim being a rational one, whose will to suffer constantly unto death was none else but the persevering will of the Priest, faithful to His oblation unto the last" (M. F. 103).

This is how I deny the oblation on the Cross! I wonder whether any theologian has insisted on it more than I have done. The true, formal essence of an oblation I do maintain to be there, although it is derived there from the Supper; but again, although it is derived there from the Supper, it is there carried to its utmost perfection: it is crowned with the crown of finality. Would anybody gather any idea of this doctrine from the expression given to it by Fr. Swaby in such words as these: ". . . . No sacerdotal oblation of Himself on Calvary," "This one (*semel*) oblation of Himself . . . not in His Passion, but at the Last Supper only"; "Our Lord offered Himself *stricte et sacerdotaliter* at the Last Supper, and not in His Passion, *in ara crucis*" (see above, p. 122)? I wonder. But one thing I am certain of, is this: that unless you gave the

"New Theory" a peculiar garb of this kind,³ you could hardly make charges against it such as are contained in the following denunciation of "Père de la Taille's claim to the re-discovery of the old but long-lost theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice; a theory demonstrably unknown to past generations of modern times; a theory irreconcilable with the teaching of the Council of Trent, unless indeed a basis of reconciliation be sought (as Père de la Taille does seek it,—cf. *op. cit.* p. 103, note 1) in the gratuitous assertion that the terms used in Tridentine definitions are not to be taken strictly in their technical sense; a theory undiscovered in patristic writings. Only one sentence of Cassiodorus (a sentence repeated by the subsequent writers quoted) is forthcoming with a view of substantiating the claim against the charge of novelty" (E. R. 467). Nearly every word of this paragraph is an untruth. There is no claim to rediscovery; nor has the old theory been long-lost or unknown to past generations of modern times. As for the patristic writings and Cassiodorus, we shall come back to them later.

For the moment, what we are concerned with, is this incidental remark, that the theory is "irreconcilable with the teaching of the Council of Trent": namely, with the words quoted above, *in ara crucis semetipsum cruento obtulit. . . . Cujus quidem oblationis cruentae*, etc. No proof is advanced, except the immediate self-evidence of the statement. Which, saving the word, is a charge of heresy, and nothing less.⁴ We know now on what it rests: not on any ground of my own. But more surprising, more incredible still is the additional statement that I do seek ("as Père de la Taille *does* seek it,—cf. *op. cit.* p. 103, note 1.") a basis of reconciliation in the gratuitous *assertion* that the terms used in Tridentine definitions are not to be taken strictly in their technical sense. Will

³ Which had already been given it by Fr. McNabb in one of his concluding remarks, if at least I am rightly interpreting this curiously constructed sentence, which purports, I believe, to define my own damnable view: "It would seem clear that, if Christ offered Himself once, and equally clear that He offered Himself at the Last Supper, we must conclude that *the one* sacrificial and sacerdotal offering of our Lord's death was not on Good Friday on the Cross, but on Holy Thursday at the Last Supper". (B. 1099).

⁴ Every theologian knows that to impute to anybody a flat and open contradiction of the definition of an ecumenical council, is nothing short of a charge of heresy.

the reader believe me? The truth is exactly the opposite. In the first place, there is no such assertion on my part. Secondly, I seek no basis of reconciliation on that ground. The incriminated note I of page 103 refers to what has just been quoted from my book in explanation of the Council of Trent. In this note I declare that my interpretation of the text of the Council (*in ara crucis semetipsum cruenta obtulit . . . Cujus quidem oblationis cruentae*, etc.) is based on the supposition that the Council intended to use the word *oblatio* in its strict acceptation, as opposed to *immolatio*. Should however the supposition prove untrue, that is, should the Council have used the word *oblatio* in a vaguer sense, as equivalent to sacrifice, or to any essential part of a sacrifice, then my interpretation would no longer hold good exegetically; yet it would remain true doctrinally:⁵ that is, if the Council did not assert a formal oblation on the Cross, I would still regard a formal oblation on the Cross as being the truth of the fact. In the supposition therefore of a strict and technical sense of the decree, I maintain that my reading of it has a twofold truth: exegetical and doctrinal. In the opposite case, I could not claim for that reading of the Decree exegetical truth; but I would still maintain the doctrinal truth of its import. This is how I seek a basis of reconciliation between my view and the Council of Trent in the gratuitous assertion that the sense of the Tridentine Decree is not strictly technical! A more flagrant distortion of the honest meaning of my words could hardly be imagined. Now, should any one ask me why I consider the hypothetical case of a less formal manner of speech on the part of the Council, my answer is this: because I have not come across any document (either conciliar or otherwise) that would make it binding on any one to admit the strict and technical sense as the only possible one; whereas there seems

⁵ Here is the text of the note, from which the reader may judge: "Haec valet explicatio sermonis tridentini, pro quanto censetur Concilium accepisse *oblationem* sensu stricto, ut contradistinctam ab *immolatione* et integra *sacrificatione*. Sin autem malueris Tridentinum usum esse acceptione minus stricta, adeo ut *offerre* sit idem ac *peragere sacrificium* (cruentum illud semel in cruce peragendum, 938; sacrificii in cruce peracti, 950; sacrificio in cruce peracto, 951), tunc utique locus nostrae Concilii explicationi jam non est, sicut nec illi quae proxime sequitur. Manet tamen vera, non solum doctrina quam enuntiamus, sed etiam locutionis ipsius quam exponebamus acceptio strictior." (M. F. 103).

to appear, not only from the rather promiscuous terminology of the Schools, but also from the very wording of the Decree,⁶ a possibility that the terms might lend themselves to a less rigid and specific interpretation.⁷ Thus, not being in a position to enforce on others that which I hold as safer, I am careful not to overstep the proper bounds of my position in the Church, which is that of a private theologian, not of a Pope, nor of a general Council. In the meantime, however, while respecting other people's freedom, I do use mine: that is, I keep to the stricter sense; so much so, that within a few pages distance (M. F. 115) I resort to it again, as a basis of argument against those who require a real immolation in the Mass; and if I recognize that my argument is only probable, because its basis can be challenged, yet I add this significant rider: "But let them see for themselves whether that less literal interpretation of the Council of Trent is safe enough." And after all that, Fr. Swaby, on the strength of the aforesaid note, proclaims that I am looking for an anchor of safety in that broader sense, the very safety of which I make bold to question!

⁶ For *offerre*, in the Canons corresponding to the Chapters appears each time *peragere sacrificium*, as indicated in the foregoing note.

⁷ A broad manner of speech in conciliar decrees would not be something unheard of. We all know in what terms, at the Council of Rome, under Nicolas II, in the year 1059, Berengarius was made to profess under oath the "true and apostolic Faith": Ego Berengarius . . . et ore et corde profiteor . . . eam fidem me tenere, quam Dominus et venerabilis Papa Nicolaus et haec sancta Synodus auctoritate evangelica et apostolica tenendam tradidit, mihiq[ue] firmavit, scilicet panem et vinum, quae in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse; et sensualiter, non solum sacramento, sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, et FRANGI, et fidelium dentibus ATTERI, jurans per sanctum et homouision Trinitatem et per haec sacrosancta Christi evangelia. Eos vero qui contra hanc fidem venerint cum dogmatibus et sectatoribus suis aeterno anathemate dignos pronuntio (Mansi, 19, 900). This profession of faith, binding under anathema, has been accepted by the Universal Church, and is looked upon by all theologians as a rule of faith. And yet what measure of "strictly technical" sense its expressions can claim, may be learned from such preëminently orthodox writers as Bellarmine (*De Eucharistia*, 1, 2), Suarez (disp. 47, sect. 4, *Dico* 5) and others, who see nothing in the *breaking of the body* but a figure of speech, a metaphor. Surely we, taught by St. Thomas, do in a formal and technical sense, not metaphorical, not figurative in any way, sing with Holy Mother Church: SIGNI TANTUM FIT FRACTURA, Qua nec status nec statura Signati minuitur. NON CONFRACTUS, non divisus, Integer accipitur (See also 3 S. 77, 7, 3^m). Of course, I readily admit that this Roman document is a rather exceptional instance; and I for one, would never put on the same footing with it, in respect of propriety of speech, the very deeply studied and carefully worded decrees of the Council of Trent.

The ground is now clear for Fr. Swaby to launch his attack on my patristic authorities. Those who have come across the volume under consideration may have noted that the patristic argument in favor of the connexion which I maintain between the Last Supper and the Passion, covers no less than seventy pages in the first book alone (*M.F.* 40-III), concerning Christ's sacrifice. Then there is the second book, on the sacrifice of the Church, the Mass: and here again more than fifty pages (*M.F.* 238-291) are devoted to the same topic, in so far as what we hold on the Mass is bound to react on what we are to think of the Supper; in such wise, that, if, according to the Fathers, the Mass is our offering of the Passion, then necessarily the Supper must have been Christ's own offering of His Passion: since we do what He did. Beside those two groups of testimonies, quite a number of other utterances of the Fathers to the same effect are dispersed throughout the first, second and third books. True, most of the authorities collected could not be looked upon as conclusive individually and severally. As was noted twice (*M.F.* 39-40 et 237-238), their force lies in their coherence, in their perfect convergence toward one and the same issue.⁸ Thus arises a cumulative probability, which not only amounts to practical certainty, but also is as such much more convincing than any individual passage, however clear it may be. Any individual testimony is always open to question more or less on the part of one prejudiced against its import. Not so a mass of testimonies, which binds you to say: Either the teaching of the Catholic divines as a whole on the Eucharistic sacrifice has been misleading from the earliest centuries down to modern times, or else it must be taken to imply this definite interpretation. In this sense Fr. Lebreton, the author of *Les origines du dogme*

⁸ That patristic and medieval testimonies on the Mass should in many cases lack cogency, is accounted for by the fact that the doctrine was not one on which the Fathers had to exert their powers of analysis or dialectics against the heretics. It is well known by all students of antiquity that in the case of an unchallenged doctrine the Fathers and early medieval writers did not so much trouble about didactic or methodical exposition of the contents of dogma, as about utilizing for practical purposes that which was held in common and presupposed by all (*M. F., loc. cit.*). This has been aptly expressed by Fr. D'Arcy in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (Jan. 1923, p. 40): "The Fathers and medieval Scholastics had an explanation of the Sacrifice of the Mass which was more or less undisputed and universal. But the explanation did not come to the fore. Because it passed unchallenged, it was not examined with the minute care of after ages."

de la Trinité, one of the best experts on documentary evidence, has written of the patristic and medieval witnesses to the above described doctrine: "All those texts, collected with such great care, hold together so fast, that to my mind no dint of dialectics could ever tear them asunder, let alone break their collective force" (*Études* 169, 186). It is not, however, to be pretended, nor surely do I pretend, that every one of the several hundred texts woven together in this demonstration has been infallibly interpreted by an author who has only too many reasons for acknowledging his shortcomings. Should one or the other fall, the result would be to show my own particular stupidity in this or that case; it would not, however, impair the bulk of evidence.

Now Fr. Swaby out of those scores of pages, filled with evidence, has devoted his attention to less than one and a half (*M. F.* 49-50), containing an appeal to Cassiodorus and four followers of his, Ps. Primacius, Alcuin, Rabanus, St. Bruno of Grenoble; and thereupon he exclaims: "The foregoing authorities exhaust the list of ecclesiastical writers (*testimonia directa*, 2°) given by Père de la Taille in order to exemplify the alleged antiquity of his theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. . . . The first thoughts suggested by the evidence are: (1) *the fewness of authorities quoted*" etc. (*E. R.* 466). I wonder which of Fr. Swaby's readers, unless he had seen my book, could help believing that the whole fabric of patristic argument was blown up. Of course, there was the little safeguard *Testimonia directa*, 2°. But what could those cryptic words (cryptic to any one not made aware of what they represented) convey to the reader's mind in the way of restriction?⁹ It might have been stated more plainly that

⁹ At the outset of his article (*E. R.* 461) Fr. Swaby had similarly written: "It will be the aim of this paper to deal with all Père de la Taille's quotations from the early ecclesiastical writers (*testimonia directa*, 2°)." And a little higher up (*E. R.* 460) there was this, in the same style: "The learned author of the book claims antiquity for his theory, and in evidence thereof quotes various 'direct testimonies' from the early Fathers and writers of the Church. . . . The present writer proposes to supplement what Fr. McNabb has left undone, by examining these authorities of Père de la Taille, alleged in proof of his theory." To the word *testimonies* was appended this note: "*Testimonia directa*, 2°, pp. 49-50". And that was all the reader had to depend upon in his estimate of the relation between Fr. Swaby's criticism and the documentary evidence in the book. I might add that in one place, at least, even this modest and altogether insufficient safeguard was missing. "Only one sentence of Cassiodorus (a sentence repeated by the subsequent writers quoted) is forth-

Testimonia directa 2° meant a subdivision in an *article* entirely devoted to *Testimonia directa*. Which *article* itself was but a subdivision of a more comprehensive bulk of patristic evidence either direct or indirect. Then that the whole of this bulk represented only the patristic evidence for one particular line of argument, confined to the third dissertation. Then that there were other lines of argument, each one of which was represented by a special dissertation (iv. v. vi. etc.), each one again with its own array of conformable patristic testimonies, and so forth. Who could catch even a glimpse of this honest truth of the case from the skilful wording of Fr. Swaby's phrase? ¹⁰ Especially on hearing Fr. Swaby wonder at the fewness of authorities quoted! Quite so. The fewness is such that I would never have pinned my faith on the authority of Cassiodorus and his four followers.

This said, let us see what our critic has against them. It should be remembered that the ecclesiastical writers of this particular group are busy explaining the verse of the Psalm, *Tu es sacerdos—in aeternum—secundum ordinem Melchisedech*: the Priesthood, its duration, its kind. The third point, *secundum ordinem Melchisedech*, is explained by the celebration at the Last Supper. The second point, *in aeternum*, by Christ's everlasting glory. The first point, *Tu es sacerdos*, by the one sacrifice of Redemption: with this particular wording: *Semel se pro nobis obtulit immolandum*. My reading is

coming with a view to substantiating the claim against the charge of novelty" (E. R. 462). How can the reader confronted with such a statemnet escape the conclusion that no appeal even was made to the Fathers in favor of the lamentably new theory outside this one sentence of one group of writers?

¹⁰ If Fr. Swaby's excuse is that he had a right to consider the argument by him discussed as the strongest and most representative of all, on account of its being styled *direct*, let him understand: (1) that there were also direct testimonies in the other dissertations as well as in this one; (2) that in this one there were other direct testimonies besides the one discussed by him, and indeed far more important; (3) that a direct testimony need not be stronger than an indirect one. Many a time a direct evidence will be probable, and an indirect one may be certain. In itself the distinction between direct and indirect means only that in one case the witness touches directly upon the elements of the problem (in the present instance, oblation and immolation) and in the other case, without dealing expressly with those elements, he yet says something from which a conclusion may be drawn to the same effect. (4) Even when it is said that "three points are stated expressly" (M. F. 49) by the Fathers or ecclesiastical writers, it does not mean that the conclusion drawn by me from those three points has also been by them expressly stated.—To tell the truth, the classification of testimonies under such headings as *direct* or *indirect* has in my mind no other value but one of practical convenience: putting order, where otherwise for want of divisions there would be disorder.

that when they define the priesthood by its regard to the Passion, its duration by Christ's eternal glory, its kind by the Eucharistic proceedings of the supper-room, they are not speaking of two or three different priesthoods,¹¹ no more than the Prophet, who in one breath says: *Thou art a Priest for ever according to the Order of Melchisedech*. One Order covers the whole of this saying from beginning to end. Likewise, if, commenting on this verse, you tell me that there are three things asserted: the substance of a priesthood, its mode, its endlessness; that number one has reference to the Passion, and number two is based on a particular rite, while number three is dependent on Christ's heavenly life: I take it that you are putting before me one and the same subject matter, describing in turn its essence, style, and permanence.¹² This, to say the least, is the obvious reading, as not a single time do you give me to understand that Christ might perhaps be called a Priest in two or three manners, or according to two orders or more, or otherwise at all than according to one particular Order.¹³

This being the case,¹⁴ I note with complacency that nothing

¹¹ May I note that the phrase of Cassiodorus, "*Sacerdos autem præcipue dicitur Christus, qui semel se pro nobis obtulit immolandum*", should not be translated, as is done by Fr. Swaby (E. R. 463): "Christ is especially called a Priest, *since* [italics mine] once only He offered Himself to be immolated for us"? This rendering might suggest (perhaps against Fr. Swaby's intention) that, if Christ is to be called a Priest, it is *chiefly on account of* this one offering of His passion and death. Which would imply that He might also be called a Priest on account of some other offering (perhaps the offering of a distinct and separate sacrifice of the Eucharist). But that is not at all the meaning. The meaning is that Christ is not only a Priest in the same way or measure as others are priests; but that He is a Priest above all priests, and particularly above the priests of the Law; in other words, that "He is pre-eminently (or *par excellence*) a Priest, *He who* offered Himself to be immolated for us." The text bears *qui*, not *quia*; and accordingly *præcipue* does not bring out an opposition between two reasons why Christ should be looked upon as a Priest, but an opposition between the priesthood of Christ and the priesthood of anybody else. Christ's priesthood is paramount; He is the Priest that offered Himself. He is the Priest who need not offer twice. No other Priest can claim the same privilege.—I willingly recognize that Fr. Swaby's translation of St. Bruno is more precise: "Christ in a way, peculiarly His own (*proprie*), is called a Priest, since only He offered Himself to be immolated for us". Which stands for "*Sacerdos proprie dicitur Christus, qui semel se pro nobis immolandum obtulit*".

¹² The same applies to St. Thomas's exposition of this verse in his Commentary on *Hebr.* 5, lect. 1, quoted in M. F. 74.

¹³ The only one surely mentioned by the Prophet, the only one known to Paul, who connects it directly with the Passion.

¹⁴ Which is investigated in a subsequent dissertation (V) more thoroughly (M. F. 67-77).

could fit my interpretation better than this admirable phrase of yours: *Semel se pro nobis obtulit immolandum*. The priesthood being one, the sacrifice being one, and yet being the sacrifice of the Passion, and in the meantime being sacramental and Eucharistic in its rite, what else should follow, but that Christ in the rite of the Supper dedicated Himself, offered Himself to the immolation of the Passion? *Semel se obtulit immolandum*. One oblation running from the Cenacle to the Cross is a necessary condition of the one sacrifice. Two oblations would make two sacrifices, of a different style, or kind, or rite. One rite, one sacrifice, one priesthood leads up to such a phrase as this: *Semel se pro nobis obtulit immolandum*.

Now, what are Fr. Swaby's objections to that? They might easily be guessed from the very shape into which he moulded the "New Theory". If the theory is that Christ offered Himself sacerdotally, not on the Cross, but at the Last Supper only, then of course my interpretation will not bear examination, since several of the aforesaid authors, in various places of their writings, say, either explicitly or implicitly, and indeed with the whole Church, that Christ offered Himself a Victim on the Cross. But who denied that Christ offered Himself a Victim on the Cross? Not I, nor the so-called New Theory (except in the judgment of my critic). The objection is therefore irrelevant. Certainly, even though Christ offered at the Supper His one sacrifice, by reason of which He is styled a Priest for ever, yet He did on the Cross offer sacerdotally, as has been explained before; and therefore the assertion of an oblation on the Cross does not in the least impair the probability of the interpretation above submitted.

Then again Fr. Swaby objects that, in explaining the verse of the Psalm, those writers do not allow their explanation of the Order by the rite to get mixed up with the explanation of the priesthood by the Passion, or vice versa. Indeed, they do not, because they enunciate one by one the various elements of their complex interpretation. But when Fr. Swaby adds that "by careful choice of words (*words* which became standardized expressions of doctrine in the centuries that follow) they have excluded any such notion" (E. R. 470), he oversteps the bounds of what facts will warrant. For even after Cassiodorus and Ps. Primasius there are examples of this in-

termingling of the rite of Melchisedech and the bloody sacrifice. There is for instance Sedulius Scotus, writing: "*According to the Order of Melchisedech*, because Melchisedech offered bread and wine to Abraham in figure of Christ offering to God the Father His body and blood on the Cross" (M. F. 71). Again, St. Bruno the Carthusian, a friend of St. Bruno of Grenoble, : "Of this Melchisedech we read that he was a Priest of the Most High, and that he offered up a sacrifice of bread and wine . . . [Thus Christ], being also a Priest of the Most High, offered on the Cross the sacrifice of the true bread and wine, namely of His body and blood" (M. F. 71).¹⁵ Meanwhile might be quoted Isidorus, writing against the Jews, in an apologetical work where all the words had to be weighed: "*Thou art a Priest for ever according to the Order of Melchisedech*: that is according to the rite of that sacrifice which Christ, while performing it (*perficiens*) in His passion, did fulfil (*implevit*)" (M. F. 73). St. Martin of Leon: "According to the rite of that sacrifice which Christ fulfilled in His Passion" (M. F. *loc. cit.*), All these seem rather explicit instances of the unbloody rite and the bloody passion coupled together, in the unity of a sacrifice culminating on the Cross and yet following Melchisedech's ritual. I do not see that there *bloody* and *unbloody* are kept "apart and distinct" (E. R. 470), as the attributes of two different oblations or sacrifices.

What more does Fr. Swaby object? This: that the *once only* (*semel*) under the pen of Cassiodorus and his followers always refers to the bloody sacrifice of the Passion: "The *once-only* (*semel*) offering is never mentioned except in union with the *Bloody Sacrifice*" (E. R. 470). This is quite true, but is no objection. If, as I maintain, there was no other sacrifice of Christ except the bloody one, made up of the Supper and the Passion, then that the *semel* should fall on this one sacrifice, is only what should be expected. Again that these two words, *semel obtulit* should be used at times of an *oblation on the Cross*, makes no difficulty whatever, except, of course, against the "New Theory" as described by Fr. Swaby, with an offering at the Supper and none elsewhere: which in-

¹⁵ On the kindred idea of an oblation (or consecration, or sacrificing) of the Eucharist on the Cross, see M. F. 45.

correct discription allows him to conclude from such cases: "The *semel* offering was made on Calvary, and THEREFORE [capitals mine] of necessity *not at the Last Supper*" (E. R. 470). But then he is refuting only his own misconstruction of the doctrine, not the doctrine itself, which rests on the continuity of Christ's one oblation, initiated at the Supper and consummated on Calvary.

If it now be asked: Why did not Cassiodorus and his followers explicitly locate this one offering in the supper-room? the answer is obvious: Because they were not busy building up a theory of Christ's sacrifice; they were as exegetes, explaining one by one the words of the prophetic text, to show how each one had been verified. It is for us to draw from their commentary the conclusions which it appears to yield. Besides, if anybody thought that this *once only* of the redemptive sacrifice is never by the writers of old associated expressly with the Eucharistic rite of the Supper, this again would be a mistake. Suffice it to quote Rupertus Tuitiensis (M. F. 101), explaining how Christ was both a Priest and a Victim. A Victim on account of the Passion; "a Priest because Himself, as the Apostle says, *being come an High Priest of the good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is not of this creation, neither by the blood of goats, or of calves, but by His own blood entered once into the Holies, having obtained eternal redemption*, carrying before Him the sacrifice of BREAD AND WINE according to the order of Melchisedech in the sacrament of His body and blood". Once only did He by His own blood, the blood of His Passion, enter the Holies with Melchisedech's gifts in hand. Again, introducing Christ's Eucharistic consecration at the Last Supper, Rupert writes: "Not till then (*tunc enim primum*) did He discharge the office of His Priesthood, putting an end to the old ministry, and, after the eating of the figurative lamb, offering Himself who is the true Lamb to His Father with His own hands. And THIS IS what the Apostle says: that *not by the blood of goats or of calves but by His own blood He entered once into the Holies having obtained eternal redemption*. For the same body that was put to death by the ungodly, the same blood that was shed from the Cross, the eternal Priest THEN did offer" (M. F. 74). This is clear enough.

I should think Rupertus would not have disputed our reading of the phrase: *Semel se pro nobis obtulit immolandum*. However, Fr. Swaby disputes it, and it is with him we have to do. The word *immolandum*, he maintains, is not to be taken as meaning something future, but something present. "When the Fathers did intend to express a future immolation, they wrote *immolandum esse*" (E. R. 472). From this rule would follow that *immolandus*, as an adjective or as an apposition, could never in the writings of the Fathers refer to anything but present, since neither as an adjective nor as an apposition can it be connected with the noun by the verbal copula. Perhaps the conclusion is too wide. Must I take it that, when the old author of that book on the *Four powers of charity* which once went by the name of St. Augustine, addresses Abraham in these words: "Licet . . . puerum ducas immolandum" (M. F. 138), his idea is that Abraham was slaying the boy while leading him and leading him while slaying? A new reading of the Biblical story. Or when Rupertus, speaking of the paschal lamb kept from the tenth day of Nisan in the houses to be slain on the fourteenth, writes in his fairly good Latin: "Cum in cunctis domibus immolandus teneretur agnus, a decimo die servatus ut ad vesperam immolaretur" (M. F. 63), does he also mean that people were, all through those four days, killing the lamb while holding it in their houses? What would remain to be done then on the fourteenth at night, somewhere about the temple? In the same place, when he wonders why "Agnus immolandus accedere debuerit ad locum immolationis", should this also imply that the Divine Lamb was being immolated on His way from Bethany to Jerusalem, the town appointed for His immolation?

Yet these consequences do not seem to discourage Fr. Swaby who proceeds to illustrate his general rule by two examples, "in which *only present action* could possibly be intended" (E. R. *loc. cit.*). One is from St. Cyprian: "Isaac . . . quando a patre immolandus offertur, patiens invenitur". The other, an exact parallel, is from Cassiodorus himself: "Abraham filium suum . . . obtulit immolandum" (E. R. 473). "The oblation," writes Fr. Swaby, "is made here in the act of immolating" (E. R. 472). Really, I wonder whether Fr. Swaby is not doing me the kindness of proving my case in-

stead of his. Was Isaac ever actually immolated? Or was he not offered at a given moment, to be immolated at some future moment, which was to come when the bloodshed should begin but never came for the reason which we all know? If this is not clear enough, let us have it in the Latin phrase of the elder Sedulius, the poet:

*"Mactandumque Deo pater obtulit, at sacer ipsam
Pro pueri jugulis aries mactatur ad aram."*

(*Carmen Paschale*, l. I, vv. 114-115, ed. J. Huemer, p. 24; cf. P. L. 19, 564.)

The present is for the ram. For Isaac nothing will fit the case but the future.¹⁶

It is quite a pleasure to be discussing these harmless questions of grammatical tenses: it relieves us from those graver charges brought before against me: which are really the only ones to which I do take exception.

However, there remains one point in Fr. Swaby's indictment which calls for a brief commentary: the commentary being bound to assume the shape of a mere quotation from various authors.

The "New Theory", Fr. Swaby says, is "demonstrably unknown to past generations of modern times". When do the modern times begin? No indication is given to us; will it be rash to suppose that what is meant is the period that began with the Council of Trent? Then it will do to refer the reader to the speeches of the Fathers of Trent, recorded in my tenth dissertation. Indeed they speak in my own words (if I might be permitted such a preposterous locution). The question before them was: how, in case the Supper was defined to be a sacrifice, should we meet the difficulty which the heretics would be quick to raise: Then there was a dual offering of Christ? Christ offered two distinct and complete sacrifices? The answer of a number of the bishops, of those indeed who had the greater share in carrying through, as couched in its present form, the decree on the Mass, was the following: "Christ did offer Himself at the Last Supper. . . .

¹⁶ Writing about this poem to a certain Macedonius, the same Sedulius says: "*Carminis textum . . . vobis obtuli perlegendum*" (p. 173; cf. P. L. 19, 517). It does not mean that he was perusing it (or having it perused by his friend) while presenting it. He may have sent it by Post.

Yet there are not two offerings, but one only together with that of the Cross. For in the offering of the Supper, He had already begun His passion, and the offering at the Supper was continuous with that on the Cross." Thus the Bishop of Paris. Another one similarly: "In the Supper and on the Cross there is only one Victim and one oblation. The unity of the Supper and of the Cross is indivisible". Again: "In the Supper Christ began His offering and finished it on the Cross"—and so forth.

But perhaps those venerable authorities will not be accounted as "modern" enough. What of a seventeenth-century controversialist like Cardinal de Bérulle, whom a German scholar of to-day has described as "*splendidissimum Ecclesiae Gallicanae ornamentum*"?¹⁷ To vindicate against Protestants the sacrificial character of the Last Supper, what does he say? "The presence of an ordinary lamb on God's table, which is His altar, is a true sacrifice: and the presence of this living bread, that came down from Heaven, of this only-begotten Son and unique Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world, that presence effected by the operation of the High Priest according to the order of Melchisedech at the moment WHEN HE BEGINS TO DEDICATE AND OFFER HIMSELF UP TO THE CROSS, shall not be a sacrifice? . . . We see this mysterious action to have been by Him reserved for the last hour of His life, when the true and bloody Passion was already started (if we look for it in its source, which is the heart of Judas and the purpose of the Jews), so that this religious and sacred action should find itself encompassed within the bounds of His torments, and should be *initiative and dedicative of the mystery of the Cross, and the mysterious oblation which He makes of Himself to God the Father in the Eucharist should be followed, continued and carried out visibly and bloodily* in His humanity, without being interrupted by any other action or mystery. Thus does He here take the first step on His way to death, both inwardly in the intention of His heart and religiously in the ceremony which He institutes, etc . . . Seeing therefore that the Son of God did not delay the offering of Himself to death till the moment He actually began to suffer, . . . seeing that in this Last Supper He had no discourse

¹⁷ Hurter, *Nomenclator*, 3rd ed., 3, 905.

but about His death and passion . . . and that He was making a memorial for ever of the same, and that He was in this new and Christian passover delivering up the same Lamb that was to die for our redemption on the Cross, is it then a thing so ill-becoming either the dignity of Christ as institutor of the wonders of the Eucharist, or the mystery of the Cross so intimately bound up with it, or the connexion between those two mysteries (as if it were another Saviour, and not the same, whom we see celebrating the Eucharist in the supper-room on Mount Sion, and on Mount Calvary enduring death and passion), that it should take a racking as it were of your minds before you can be brought to believe that it has pleased our Lord in the act of His Testament to remember His death, and make thereof an oblation to God?" (M.F. 86-87). It is to be hoped that Fr. Swaby will not have to rack his mind before bringing himself to admit that we have here on the part of one of the ablest controversialists of the seventeenth century a remarkable witness to that "theory demonstrably unknown to past generations of modern times." But he might have saved me the trouble of a fresh transcription, let alone the translation, if he had been good enough to read it where it was first quoted in its original French.

Here is a new authority, which will appeal perhaps to him more, and enable him at any rate to form a more generous estimate of the range of theological erudition at a later period still of "modern times". Noël Alexandre, O. P., the famous seventeenth-eighteenth century scholar, in his defence of the Eucharistic Sacrifice against the heretics of his day,¹⁸ accords the "New Theory" a place of distinction, indeed a unique place. The Fathers of Trent being divided into four groups on the subject of the Last Supper, the first is made up of the supporters of the decree. One difficulty is alleged to have stood in their way for a while: namely, the danger to the dignity of the Cross from a sacrifice at the Supper. To this one objection one answer only is recorded: namely, the one which we have heard above: "It was quite possible for Christ to offer Himself at the Supper, and to finish His sacrifice on the

¹⁸ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in saec. XIII-XIV, Dissertatio XIII, *De Sacrificio Missae adversus Albigeneses et Wickleffistas in Lutheranis et Calvinistis re-dicivos*, § XXXIX. Paris, 1684, saec. XIII-XIV, pars 3, p. 751 sqq.

Cross; and thus the Supper would not take away anything from the Cross." And then the next thing we are told is that when it came to a vote, everybody went over to the first group. In this little narrative, the "New Theory" does not seem to cut such a bad figure;¹⁹ especially if we remember that the scope of the dissertation is an apologetic one against the heretics. And yet Alexandre had only Pallavicini to depend upon. What more would he not have said, if, as is our privilege, he had been able to consult such sources as Theiner or Ehses?

I hope no fault will be found with these authorities as being confined to France. Anyhow, England can raise its voice too, in the person of one whose name is among the very greatest of the nineteenth century. As a theologian, Cardinal Manning is perhaps more justly appreciated abroad than he commonly is in his own country. To me his theological insight into Catholic dogma has always seemed to be of the first order. Thus does he express himself on the present matter. "In this last Paschal Supper, when Jesus sat at the table, and took bread, blessed it, broke it, gave it, and said, *This is My Body*, and the chalice, when He had blessed it, and said, *This is My Blood*, HE BEGAN THE ACT OF OBLATION, FINISHED ON CALVARY, WHICH REDEEMED THE WORLD. . . . At His Last Supper, He made a free and voluntary offering of Himself. He had not yet shed His Blood, but throughout His own life He had offered His will, and HE NOW OFFERED HIS DEATH; and that which He began at the Last Supper He accomplished on the morrow upon Calvary by the shedding of Blood; for that shedding of Blood was the completion of His Sacrifice. . . . He died to complete the sacrifice, to fill up its perfect propitiation by the last gift that He could give, by the last drop of

¹⁹ The fact is all the more interesting, because in his *Theologia Dogmatico-Moralis* (l. 2, c. 6, art. 1, prop. 1), after noting that "no reiteration of the Lord's death was required [for the real truth of the sacrifice of the Mass], but that it was enough that the death should be commemorated, and that the body once delivered for us and the blood once shed for us should be truly and really placed before us, and that [the blood] should be mystically shed in the sacrament and offered to God", Alexandre just a little further adds this note: "More information will be found in our 13th dissertation on the XIII-XIV century, in our *Church History*."

It is worth while noting, too, that this same dissertation was inserted in the well-known compilation *Thesaurus Theologicus*, tom. 11, Venice 1863: so that eighteenth-century theologians had every opportunity of coming across it.

His Precious Blood. . . . The action of the Last Supper looked onward to that action on Calvary, as the action of the Holy Mass looks backward upon it.”²⁰ This is the most comprehensive statement we could desire, covering, as it does, both the transaction in the Last Supper and the sacrifice of the Mass, and showing their connexion with the Cross. If anything could be added to it, it would be found in that other sentence from the same pen (quoted M. F. 304): “One sacrifice has for ever redeemed the world, and is offered continually in heaven and on earth: in heaven by the only Priest, before the eternal Altar; on earth by the multitude and succession of priests who are one with Him as co-partakers of His priesthood.” Which statement reminds us that the former view on the Last Supper has its counterpart in the latter view on the Mass, and vice versa; so that for the Supper itself we may claim the indirect testimonies of the great many who in “past generations of modern times”, as well as in all the foregoing centuries, have upheld in the matter of the Mass that which it has pleased my critics to call “a new theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice”.

Why are the testimonies more numerous, and the thoughts often clearer, on the Mass than on the Supper? For a very simple reason. Quite a number of theologians have written on the Mass extensively; none has set to work to write an *ex professo* treatise of the Last Supper. And why again this difference of treatment, seeing that the celebration of the Lord must have been of infinitely higher importance than our own ministerial celebration? The reason again is simple: because in teaching the faithful we are more directly concerned with the sacrifice of the Church, in which they have to take a personal part, than with the sacrifice of the Lord, in which we had no active share. Again the heretics mooted many more questions about the Mass than about the Supper: whence the necessity of attending more to the former than to the latter.

Be that as it may, I think it is pretty clear that none of the grievances of my critics have any foundation in fact. As to the censure, I leave them to think whether it would not be just as well to abandon the monopoly of a certain tone and of certain forms of language to centuries of the past, when too

²⁰ *The Glories of the Sacred Heart*, ch. V (New Edition, pp. 139 ff.).

many theologians, on various sides, seemed (very much indeed against the directions of our Holy Mother the Church) to be particularly eager to supply the world with a concrete instance of an old proverb in a new form: *theologus theologo lupus*. Censuring a theologian may be at times the painful duty of the Hierarchy. It should never be the sport of others.

From the Hierarchy acting in its official capacity, may I be permitted to record a recent pronouncement, made in a Lenten Pastoral, in 1922, just a few months before its author was raised to the Sacred Purple, as being, in the words of the Holy Father, the theological star of the French Episcopate? Speaking then from his Episcopal Chair, the Archbishop of Rennes, now Cardinal Charost, put before his diocesans this doctrine of the Last Supper, not as human fancy, but as the faith once delivered to the Saints: "There [in the last Supper] He [Christ] already confronts His disciples with the sacrifice of salvation. Already He is beginning it; from this moment He offers Himself up to death. He does so in a significant phrase which does not bear on the future as a promise, but affects the present as an actual decision; by means of symbols too, more expressive still than words. . . . The Saviour is here placing Himself . . . as the lamb prophesied by Isaias, a victim mute and gagged, fastened by the sacramental bonds more tightly still than He is soon to be by the cords of the soldiers. Do you not understand that He wishes to make it clear to us, that on His part everything is ready for the sacrifice, and that there is nothing left for Him to wait for but the knife. In this unbloody rite already appears before you the Priest and the Victim, along with the offering to and destination for immolation: which intention is here, as usual, expressed liturgically by the Pontiff Himself. Jesus, I say again, began in the Cenacle that sacrifice which this very day shall be perfected in actual bloodshed. Why then should we tear asunder the sacrifice of the Supper from that of the Cross, as if they were two distinct entities, each one of which had in itself the constitutive and integral elements of a sacrifice: as if Christ had offered Himself twice! Does not the *mystic* immolation, entailed by the duality of the sacramental species, in quite a transparent manner connect our Victim with the immolation on the Cross, and with

it alone? Is not the Victim already offered and vowed irretrievably to that death on the Cross? Aye, and to such an extent that when Christ, in the garden, at the approach of death, starts as horror-stricken, and His hands in piteous deprecation try to remove the chalice that appears to Him in the darkness of night and the dimness of His saddened soul, no power shall break the indissoluble bond which He Himself has tied with His own hands. Why then should we under the white shroud of the Host look for some other *real* immolation, with no likeness or reference to the immolation of the Cross? . . . Is it not Christ Himself who in those words of the Eucharistic institution binds indivisibly the unbloody rite with the bloody one, when to the former He annexes, not as merely promised, but as actually at work, the power of atoning for sin. And yet through His death alone, His actual death, *morte intercedente*, was our pardon to be merited and obtained. What shall we conclude, but that the death of our Saviour is already in the realm of fact, already in being, as it were, and that He is offering Himself to its final blow? . . . From all sides then the same conclusion presses itself on us: the Passion has already begun its course, it is not only morally present, as in Christ's thought; but it is virtually enacted by the offering which Christ makes of Himself to His death in this solemn moment. After all, was it not necessary that this offering should be made, and made liturgically, if Christ's passion was to be a religious immolation and a sacerdotal sacrifice? And where shall we find it in the Gospel but at this moment of the Supper? . . . Let Protestants exclaim that if the Eucharist was a sacrifice of His own body and blood offered by Christ at the Supper, then our redemption was already effected, and the sacrifice of the Cross is made void. The Fathers of Trent have replied that this was not a case of adding one sacrifice to another; that there was only one Sacrifice in all, extending itself from the Supper-room to the mountain of Golgotha; that it was continuous in the order of events, even as in the literary texture of the Gospels." Much more might be quoted from the same source, always to the point. This will suffice, I am sure, to earn for the present translator (however clumsy his translation may be) a measure of gratitude from the reader.

And now that I have touched to the best of my ability on every point raised by my critics, before we part from one another (good friends, as I hope), may I be allowed, as an *ultimum vale*, to make a few remarks on the study of theology. Theology is a more complex and delicate science than is perhaps realized at first. It has its exigencies, which include extensive reading and prolonged thinking. It has its methods, consisting mainly of facts well analyzed and aptly connected, and of reasoning properly conducted along the lines of safe logic, in the light of approved principles, without ever begging the question or confusing issues, without losing sight of common sense, without mistaking words for things, or the sameness of formulas for an identity of object. It has also its ethics and its propriety, which must be respected. It requires no doubt a certain minimum of mental and technical equipment, such however as the average ecclesiastic is pretty sure never to lack, if only he takes the trouble to acquire it. But it requires above all things serenity of mind, peace, that beautiful peace for which a genius like St. Thomas is præeminently admirable. *Non in commotione Dominus*. The Lord abideth not in excitement. It is no object of theology to raise clouds of dust, but to let the calm light of heaven fall straight and pure on every part of the theological field, and penetrate and gladden even the darkest recesses of the mystic hall, where the queen of beauty, Beatrix, the soul that loveth God, through the earthly veil of words and images contemplates things unseen and things untold. To that let us aspire, rather than to the name of scholars or to the name of critics. In that let us unite, all in one, and one in all. *Aemulamini charismata meliora*; and let those who can, prove by the meekness of their spirit that they have understood best the Mystery of our Faith: the sacrifice of the "gentle Lamb", that opened not His mouth on being led to the slaughter, and now on our altars lieth ever a peace-maker between heaven and earth—aye, and on earth too between the children of men—under the snowy pall of unleavened bread, with purple hues from the wine-press.

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Rome, Italy.

APPENDIX

The following Letter, which appeared in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July, 1924, supplements the foregoing reply to critics.

The book which I published some time ago on the Sacrifice and Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, under the title *Mysterium Fidei*, has engaged of late the attention of English-speaking critics to a considerable extent. Leaving out those who did not write in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, and whose criticisms are discussed at full length in the coming July and August issues of the *Ecclesiastical Review*, I should like to offer through your medium to the readers of your own periodical, if you will be kind enough to allow me, a few very brief remarks on some statements of your contributors.

Needless to say, to Fr. D'Arcy I owe nothing but thanks. With Dr. Pierce I see no ground for disagreement, except on the use of a word. A verbal difference need not detain us. There remain the Revs. J. B. Brosnan (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, December, 1923) and E. Leen (*ibid.*, February and April, 1924).

Fr. Brosnan had prefaced his work in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* with an article in the *Ecclesiastical Review* (June, 1923), in which he maintains that I differ from St. Thomas, because I make the Mass the *oblatio victimae aut immolandae aut immolatae*, whereas "St. Thomas makes it the oblation of *Christi passi*" (p. 62), and never of *Christi passuri*. As a matter of fact, I do not make the Mass an *oblatio victimae* [realiter] *immolandae*, but only an *oblatio victimae* [realiter] *immolatae* (although of course there is a symbolic, or as it is generally called, mystic immolation, taking place in the Mass itself; which verifies the expression of the Council of Trent: "Novum instituit Pascha se ipsum ab Ecclesia . . . immolandum", Sess. 22, cap. 1). As to the Last Supper, I make it an *oblatio victimae* [realiter] *immolandae*, and not at all an *oblatio victimae* [realiter] *immolatae*. Now if St. Thomas looks upon the Mass as an oblation of *Christi passi*, then he is likely to have considered the Supper as an oblation of *Christi passuri*. Of course, it would be hardly worth while answering Fr. Brosnan, if he had written only this article, seeing that at that time he had not done me the honor of reading anything of what he was writing about. His criticism was based exclusively on what he might have picked up from the above-mentioned articles of Dr. Pierce (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, May, 1922), and Fr. D'Arcy (*ibid.*, Jan., 1923). But then

came his own contribution to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. In the meantime, a letter to the Editor of the (*American*) *Ecclesiastical Review* (November, 1923) had formally linked the former production with the latter. The new article appeared under the somewhat clamorous title *Father de la Taille's Theory in the Light of St. Thomas*. Now, strange to say, even this paper, in which I come in not incidentally, but as a figure-head, ignores entirely my Latin work, taking into account only my short contribution to *Catholic Faith in the Holy Eucharist*. The constructions put on the latter would have been absolutely impossible, if Fr. Brosnan had been acquainted with even the opening chapter of the former. I am afraid the other figure-head in the article, St. Thomas, does not fare much better than myself, not indeed for lack of quotation from the proper sources, but perhaps for lack of correct interpretation. Here is an instance: Fr. Brosnan writes (p. 568): "St. Thomas tells us that the Sacrifice of the New Law—he makes no distinction in that Sacrifice before or after the Cross—really and truly contains *Christum passum*. Oportuit ut . . . sacrificium novae legis a Christo institutum . . . contineret ipsum Christum passum non solum in significatione vel figura, sed etiam in rei veritate" [3 S. 75, 1]. Does it not strike Fr. Brosnan that in the passage quoted from St. Thomas there is the word *institutum*? Christ *celebrated* a sacrifice by consecrating the bread and wine; but He *instituted* one by saying *Do ye this in memory of Me*: which words surely did not institute what had gone before, that is Christ's own action, but only what was to be done by us later, as a memorial of His death, resurrection and ascension, till He come back from heaven. The sacrifice thus instituted is the Mass, the sacrifice of the Church, which surely does contain *Christum passum*. And thus the Sacrifice of the New Law, as *instituted* by Christ, contains *Christum passum*, but not so the Last Supper. Does Fr. Brosnan imagine that in the mind of St. Thomas Christ gave to his disciples at the Last Supper something that had already been bruised, "*passum . . . in rei veritate*"? Did He give something that was already *vere passum*, *immolatum in cruce pro homine*? No, He gave His own Body indeed, really and substantially present, but not touched yet by the bloody passion or by death. *Passurum* He gave it, not *passum*; *immolandum in cruce*, not *in cruce immolatum*. St. Thomas makes his mind pretty clear, when right after declaring (3 S. 73, 5, 2^m) that the Eucharist is a perfect sacrament of the Passion, as containing "*ipsum Christum passum*", he goes on to discuss this objection: The Eucharist is not a proper memorial of the Passion, because memorials refer to things past, whereas the Eucharist was instituted before Christ's passion?

His answer is: "Sacramentum istud fuit institutum in coena, ut IN FUTURUM esset memoriale dominicae passionis, EA [h. e. passione] PERFECTA. Unde signanter dicit Haec quotiescumque feceritis, DE FUTURO loquens" (3 S. 73, 5, 3^m). May I add moreover that certain things are self-evident, and would none the less be true if St. Thomas had never said them; just as the famous phrase "Dieu seul est grand" would remain undeniable, even if it had not been uttered by a great orator in the presence of the *Grand Roi's* mortal remains.

Fr. Brosnan must not take it amiss if I do not go on with the discussion of his other statements. I should not have anything to do but point in each case to chapter and verse in my own book, where he could see what his misconstruction is, or his *ignoratio elenchi*. He may well do that himself. The more so, because he will readily admit, I am sure, that I am a busy man.

The Rev. E. Leen devoted two articles in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (Febr. and Apr., 1924) to the same topic. In the first, without indicating in the least what my position may be, or specifying which elements of it may call for criticism and correction, he simply declares that the exposition and vindication of his own theory will be a sufficient refutation of mine. "It is not the purpose of the present article to combat Father de la Taille's theory, but rather to lay bare another, based on principles and deductions, which, if accepted, contain in themselves a refutation of his position" (pp. 113-114). Thereupon follows a dissertation of which these are the salient points.

(1) The Mass being offered by the whole Church is bound to represent the inward sacrifice or self-immolation to God of all the faithful.—A most true statement, assuredly, with which I cannot but entirely concur. But when the author adds that "in all that has been written [before him] on the present subject, very little attention has been given to this one of the four elements to be considered in all sacrifice according to St. Augustine—namely *a quo offertur*" (p. 124), then I confess that I cannot help expressing surprise. Without speaking of others, my elders and betters, I may remark that "very little attention" must have been given by the Reverend critic to the XXIII, XXVI-XXX and XXXIII Dissertations in the book of which his own essay is supposed to imply the refutation.

(2) Christ can no longer be a victim, being in a state of glory. "He, *as an individual*, is glorified, and therefore can no longer be in the condition of victim" (p. 133). Therefore let us say that in our sacrifice the real victim is the Church militant, that is ourselves, in

so far as we are members of Christ. "In the Mass the real victim of the real sacrifice is each mystic member of Christ united with the past immolation of the Head figured forth at present on the Altar" (p. 134). Will you object that in that case other is the victim of Calvary, other the victim of the Mass? Then the answer comes readily: "Christ Himself, in His individual Humanity, was immolated on Calvary; Christ is immolated on the Altar. It is the same sacrifice, for Christ is the Church, and the Church is Christ" (p. 138). I should scruple to insist on the singularly unfortunate character of such a pronouncement. I would not have mentioned it were it not the climax of the theory, and therefore also, I suppose, the main point of difference and, as it were, the measure of the opposition and contrast between the author's view and that which it is meant to exclude.

I am bound to reply that I admit the contrast, and agree to differ from a view which, if it were true, would not only hit me, but also all the theologians of the past, and of the future as well.

But I hasten to add that in his second article the author, apparently made aware of the situation by the letters for which he has the good grace of thanking his friends, explains away the first article by declaring that what he said of the Church referred, in his mind, not to the "objective" sacrifice or victim, but to the "subjective" one: a distinction which I take to be equivalent to the more customary and intelligible one between outward and inward sacrifice. But then what was, as far as the Mass is concerned, the gist of his first article? Just to teach us that the Church, while offering the visible sacrifice, was also invisibly offering herself? But again, I ask, who has ever doubted that, or left it out of account? Besides, the problem was precisely or primarily about the essence of that visible sacrifice which symbolizes the invisible one. "One [theologian] after the other has come forward with his opinion as to what constitutes the essence of the sacrifice. . . . One rises from a study of these conflicting views with the feeling that, far from being brought closer, one has been but further removed from an intelligent grasp of this important question" (p. 113); of the question namely concerning "the constitutive or determining element of the essence of the sacrifice of the Mass" (p. 114). In these words, which are none too complimentary to the theological profession, is to be found at any rate a clear-cut question. And now I maintain that if the answer is: The Church is invisibly offering herself—however true the statement may be, it is no answer to the question; and we find ourselves to have been brought not one step nearer to that "intelligent grasp" which has been denied to us so far. And what is more, I am afraid

we shall forever have to give up any hope of attaining to it, if Christ cannot be a victim, a true victim.

Now then the question arises: Is Christ really incapable of BEING a victim? The answer, to my mind, must be in the affirmative, IF to be a victim means to be crushed and bruised, to be suffering and bleeding, to be dead, to be destroyed. But if being a victim is something else, if it is to be a gift passed from mankind to the Deity even by the gate of death, something offered and presented, not indeed without blood, but through blood introduced into God's sanctuary, to be there before Him sacred to Him alone: then Christ can be and is a Victim, THE Victim, in a paramount manner. Therefore the only question in fine is one not on the essence of the Mass in particular, but on the essence of sacrifice in general. Is sacrifice fundamentally the donation of a gift or not? To Fr. Leen sacrifice is no gift, no donation: "It is not a question of presenting a gift—for there can be no gift to God" (p. 134). Indeed this is about the only particular point on which he notes explicitly, although incidentally, a definite contradiction between his view and mine. The contradiction is a more fundamental one than his casual reference to it might lead us to think. It is the root of all the difference. If sacrifice is no gift, let us abide by Fr. Leen's opinion, as expounded in his first article. If sacrifice is a gift, then let the whole fabric fall to the ground, as it does in the second article under the pressure of theological exigencies.

Fr. Leen objects that "a gift of man to God in the natural order, is meaningless" (p. 123). Assuredly it would be meaningless if it was a question of transferring into God's domain something not yet His own. But that has never been the meaning of our gifts to the Deity. Everything belongs to God. Nothing can enrich Him. But yet certain things belong to God in such wise, that we also own them, although in a subordinate manner. If we deprive ourselves of that human ownership, so as to make the thing belong to God exclusively; in other words, if we make it sacred to God (*sacrum facere aliquid Deo = sacrificare*); if we set it apart for God (*facere sacrum = secernere*), then we are making an offering to God. If that offering is made apparent by what is done to the thing in its process of consecration, then we have in the full sense of the word a sacrifice, a true sacrifice: provided, of course, the outward gift is intended to represent our own self-surrender, self-dedication, self-consecration to God. Wherefore the whole question of sacrifice is introduced by St. Thomas in these pithy words: "*Considerandum est de actibus quibus aliquae res exteriores Deo offeruntur. Circa quos occurrit duplex consideratio. Primo quidem, de his quae Deo*

a fidelibus DANTUR. Secundo, de votis quibus ei aliqua promittuntur. Circa primum considerandum est de SACRIFICIIS, oblationibus, primitiis et decimis" (2-2, 85). And then we are told, in the course of the discussion, that between the tithe on the one hand, and the sacrifices or oblations or first-fruits on the other hand, there is this difference: namely, that the latter are presented to God immediately in His own person, and the former only in the person of His priests, and so to say, by proxy (2-2, 85, 3, 3^m; coll. *ibid.* ad 2^m, et 2-2, 86, 2, 1^m). A more realistic way of expressing the truth of the gift, of the sacrificial gift, could hardly be devised.

It is perfectly true in the meantime that God has no need of our gifts, even taking them in that restricted sense above specified. What consequence shall we draw therefrom? that we need not offer Him anything? No, but that although He has nothing to gain through it, we however are the gainers by offering to Him: so that if He claims sacrifice, it is out of pure love for us. Irenaeus had said that long ago: "Suis discipulis dans consilium primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, . . . novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem; quam Ecclesia ab apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis praestat, primitias suorum munerum in novo testamento. . . . Igitur Ecclesiae oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum et acceptum est ei . . . Offerre igitur oportet Deo primitias ejus creaturae. . . . Oportet enim nos oblationem Deo facere et in omnibus gratos inveniri fabricatori Deo, . . . primitias earum, quae sunt ejus, creaturarum offerentes. Et hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert fabricatori, offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus. . . . Offerimus enim quae sunt ejus" (quoted in *Myst. Fid.*, 208-210). And here is something more striking still: "Is qui offert, glorificatur ipse in eo quod offert, si acceptetur munus ejus" (*Adv. Haer.* 4, 18, 1). There is no doubt that all this refers to the sacrifice of the Eucharist, to those *dona et munera*, which we, priests, are appointed to offer on behalf of the faithful, and upon which the Church instantly begs God to "look with a propitious and serene countenance, and to accept them".

Why, to my mind, a theologian rules himself out of court, if he attempts to tamper with the essential character of the sacrificial gift, I have stated elsewhere (*Myst. Fid.*, 6, 7, 13, etc.), and need not come back to it.

Perhaps I ought to add that I disclaim all responsibility for certain views for which Fr. Leen seems to claim my support. I certainly hold (*Myst. Fid.*, 7) that the sincerity of our self-offering to

God is an essential element of an acceptable sacrifice, and therefore a necessary factor of its efficacy in the line of impetration or propitiation. But I have never thought or dreamt, much less said or implied "that one's assistance at Mass is not a real offering of sacrifice except one is contrite" (p. 136). I maintain on the contrary (*Myst. Fid.*, 320), speaking of course of the faithful, that the sinner, still in the state of sin, by means of the sacrifice which he causes to be offered in his name, or in which he joins by devout attendance, obtains the grace of repentance which he lacks; and this, not only by the impetratory virtue of the Mass, but by its very power of atonement; according to the unequivocal teaching of the Council of Trent: "Hujus quippe [sacrificii] oblatione PLACATUS Dominus, gratiam et donum paenitentiae concedens, CRIMINA ET PEC-CATA ETIAM INGENTIA dimittit" (Sess. 22, cap. 2). True, sincerity is required; but sincerity and perfect contrition (that contrition required "for the validity [*sic*] of a sacrament", p. 136, or including "freedom from attachment to mortal sin", *ibid.*) are two things carefully to be distinguished from one another. It would be quite preposterous to say that faith or hope, however imperfect they may be while lacking the formal perfection of charity, are insincere; nor again is love itself insincere, if for lack of absolute preference for God it remains imperfect. And what applies to all virtues is true also of the virtue of sincerity. Sincerity is imperfect, if not united with charity. But yet it can exist, even though imperfect. And therefore the sacrifice may be fruitful, even to the sinner, as long as the sinner has this minimum of sincerity necessary to the existence even of faith, namely the desire for conversion or charity (see St. Thomas, *Sent.* 3, 23, q. 2, a. 5, ad 4^m et 5^m).

More might be said. But I do not wish to trespass unduly on your valuable space; and therefore I close this letter with a sincere expression of my regard for your two contributors, and gratitude to you for allowing me this opportunity of meeting their criticisms.

I am, dear Reverend Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. DE LA TAILLE, S.J.

Rome, 30 May, 1924.

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